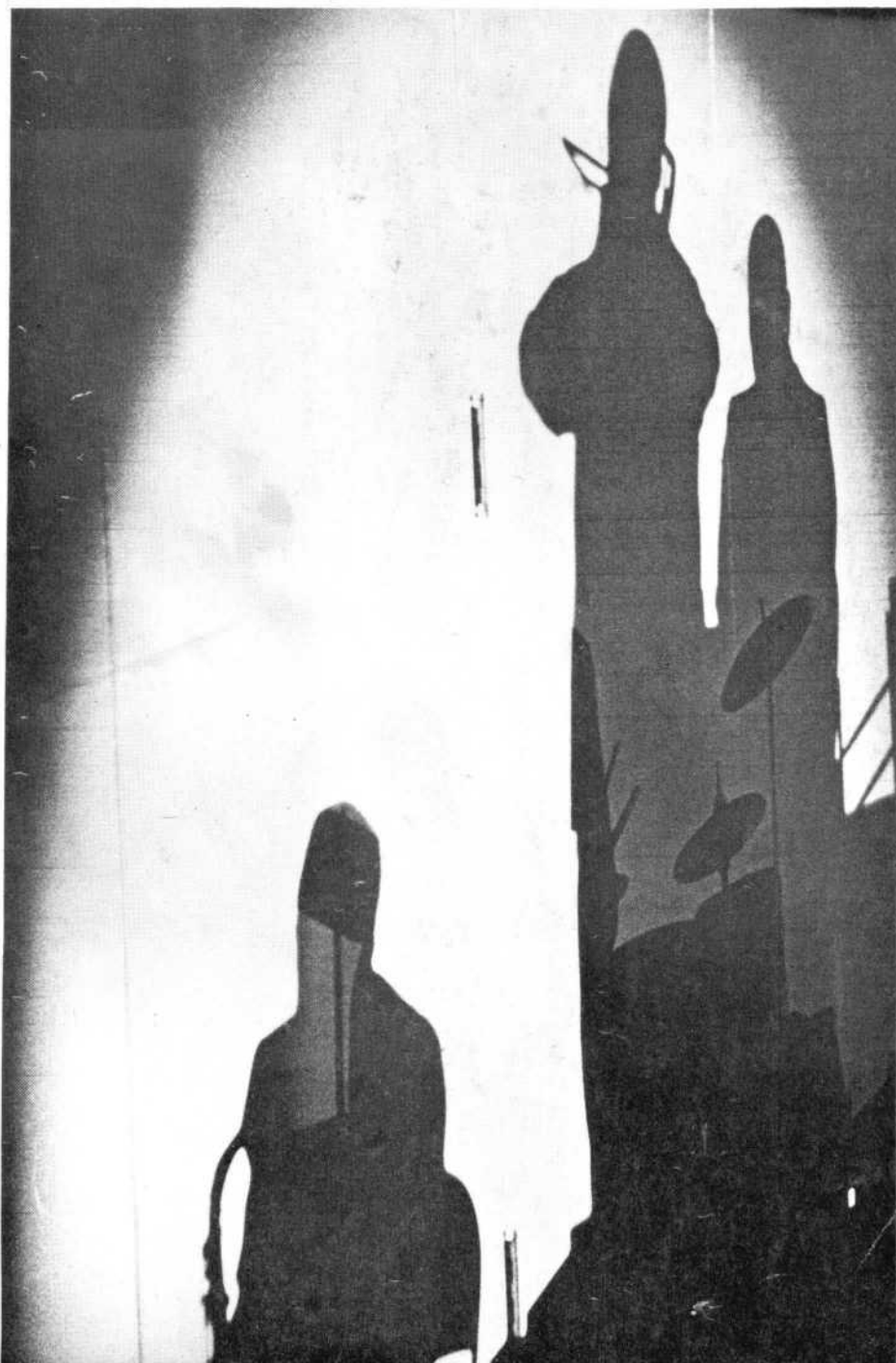


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THAT'S WATTS HAPPENIN' !



by bobb hamilton

Those black men who talk about "Saving America" by making it live up to its dream -- and these are not the black bourgeoisie castration of which I speak, but the well-intentioned black radicals -- remind me of a naive woman who might plead to the ravening rapist to allow her to dress the wounds and scratches he acquired in his attack on her -- not realizing that her assailant will only catch his breath in order to be more thorough in fucking her.

White America is waging a "no holds barred" war against the blacks in this country and against colored people all over the world! It is, at least, foolish to concern oneself about the welfare of someone who has his foot on your throat. After 400 years I should think that at least the more aware and articulate black men would see that the "American Dream" is the blackman's Nightmare! Time has run out for Black preachers and black pietists! The battles being fought in America are not economic ones, not against poverty; America is engaged in the early stages of a blatant race war. Those Black leftists who still nurture that intellectually expensive illusion of "black and white unity" against some economic bugbear (capitalism) need only look honestly at America's clandestine ally in this struggle, The Soviet Union. The Russians are as 'white' as any Mississippi peckerwood vis-a-vis the "yellow peril," Red China! The white man in America, and Europe too for that matter, has become so acclimatized to bullying and oppressing and terrorizing non-whites, and to the acquiescence and, much too often, the collaboration of those he tyrannizes, that he is genuinely shocked, bewildered, and even hurt when he is told, "stop I've had enough." He was shocked by the long hot Summer of 1964, by Springfield, Chicago, and Los Angeles of 1965.

"Punks," said Boy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People -- unimaginatively. . . . like a cracked record. "We deplore. . . ."
 "said Farmer Jim of the Congress on Ritual Equality, not too long returned from his mission as "official nigger to Africa to undo Malcolm's work." "With all force necessary!"
 "said Kingfish Martin -- at least he was the most consistent, for he had reassured "chuck" that his position was that any blood to be shed in the pursuit of "The American Dream", would be ours!

The Governor of California, the Mayor and the Chief of Police of Los Angeles screamed, "Where are the responsible Negro Leaders?" They were there and here whitey -- you were just too hysterical to hear and see them! The U. S. News and World Report, the liberal N. Y. Post, The Times, the white press a d nauseum attributed the revolt in Los Angeles to criminals and thugs! These are the presses who eulogize the Boston Tea Party, the French Underground, and the slave uprisings sparked by Spartacus in Rome!

* * *

The blacks in Los Angeles, California were not irresponsible: They were tired of white bull-shit. The black bourgeoisie were silent because they had been so "busy" being "responsible" to white folks that they, by definition, could not be responsible to blacks -- they've never been before: possibly amidst the so-called chaos a quiet voice told them they were black too; possibly and very likely they "knew better" than to speak out on the side of "whitey" our non leaders were "safe" and "secure" on the East Coast and in the South. My only regret is that so many blacks were killed, but it has always been that way. Hasn't it? But there are new heroes growing by leaps and bounds in the psyche of us, the black masses; they are: Nat Turner, Cinque, Marcus Garvey, Robert Williams, Malcolm X, and the Deacons! Keep on pushing!

Burn, Baby, Burn

Tired.

Sick an Tired,

Tired of being

Sick an Tired.

Lost.

Lost in the

wilderness

Of white america.

Are the masses asses?

Cool.

Said the master to the slave,

"No problem. Don't rob an steal,

I'll be your drivin wheel."

Cool.

And he wheeled us into

350 years of black madness,

To hog guts, conked hair, covadis,

To bleaching cream and uncle thomas,

To WATTS,

To the streets,

To the KILL.

BOMMMM.....2 honkeys gone.

MOTHER FUCK the police!

And parker's sister, too.

BLACK PEOPLE;

Tired,

Sick an tired,

Tired of being

Sick an tired --

Burn, baby, burn.....

Don't leave dem boss rags,

C'mon, child, don't mind da

tags.

Git all dat motherfuckin pluck,
Git dem guns too, we 'on't give
a fuck!

Burn, baby, burn,
Cook outta sight --

Fineburgs,

Whitefront,

Wineburgs,

Blackfront --

Burn, baby, burn,

In time

He

will learn.

by

marvin jackmon

africa, china & the u.s.

by cheikh-anta diop

(translated from the french by SEUL BOOK)

Although Cheikh-Anta Diop is not well known in Afroamerica, he, more than any living Black intellectual (for that matter anybody), has developed approaches to, and theories of Black history. Brother Diop has a theory that there is a basic division of peoples into 2 kinds: the Southerners (or Negro-Africans), and the Aryans. Each grouping has, a cultural outlook based on response to climate, the difference between them being that Aryans have had a harsher climate.

According to Diop the Aryans have developed patriarchal systems characterized by the suppression of women and a tendency toward individualism, materialism and pessimism. The Southerners, on the other hand, he sees as possessing a matriarchal system. The women are much freer, the social system is collectivist and optimistic in its orientation towards life.

As for the historical basis of this view Diop has argued, with a considerable amount of evidence, that ancient Egypt was not only a Black African civilization, but that also European civilization is a mere derivative of that great society. In a word, his writings on this subject are at least outrageously provocative, and at the most blatantly revolutionary.

We do not give this background to Brother Diop's orientation in order to endorse his views; on the contrary, we have reservations about some of his conclusions, and his emphasis on climate as a determinant of history, but we do know that his historical findings vis-a-vis pharaonic Egypt and its relationship to Africa and Europe have immense credence. The main reason we have summarized his theories is to point out his excellent intellectual and pro-Black credentials so that we can show why we feel Brother Diop is eminently qualified to explain many of the relationships between the Peoples Republic of China, the emerging African nations, and that great guardian of the color line, the United States of America.

-- The Editors --

* * *

China, in exploding two Uranium 235 bombs, has just proved that she is capable of having access to thermonuclear power by her own means. Several years are yet necessary, perhaps less than ten, in order for her to constitute an operational arsenal. Also, China of today is comparable to the U.S.S.R. of 1926 to 1938; she needs to build her economy, to consolidate her political regime, and also her technical capabilities. In these undertakings she must shun war at any price in order to gain precious years so that she may acquire the invulnerability of nuclear powers.

China will go to war only in the case of her own defense. The territory of China is sufficiently vast in order to permit virtually the doubling of her present population (actual density is approximately 80 per square kilometers) and of feeding it without having need of pruning the lands of a neighbor. Therefore the true danger isn't in seeing the Chinese reenacting the invasion of the Huns and overrunning a Europe which is only a "peninsula of Asia." Rather, it resides in the fact that, in the end, the well-being, higher creative knowledge, technical efficiency, power, and the ability to make demands will no longer be the monopoly of the west.

ELIMINATING THE AMBIGUITIES

The United States is fully conscious of this situation. It seems to feel that the safe-guarding of both their supremacy and that of the west in general necessitates a preventive war against China; even their press no longer makes a mystery of this position. However, the U.S. can only act with impunity if it succeeds in momentarily isolating China from the rest of the Socialist Camp. The unspeakable American provocations in Vietnam register within this perspective. (cont.p. 156)



President Nyerere welcomes Premier Chou to Dar-es-Salaam

(They can lead to war if the U.S. estimates, rightly or wrongly, that the solidarity of the Socialist Camp would fail China, that China wouldn't benefit from the atomic umbrella and from the air cover of the U.S.S.R.) The war would then spring from a lack of clarity in the positions originally taken.

Today, as in the time of the Korean War, peace is gained in eliminating ambiguities in time. Also, one would like to believe that firm resolutions, which contrast with appearances, have already been taken at the level of discreet diplomacy not leaving to hover in the air any doubts as to the solidarity of the Socialist Camp in the case of a U. S. attack on China under any pretext whatsoever. It is with the aerial protection of the U.S.S.R. that China was able to aid North Korea, and why she would be able to aid Vietnam today. This important condition which could, alone, render effective China's aid to Vietnam, depends entirely upon the U.S.S.R.; and the reasons for China's present procrastination are perfectly understood. The presence of Sibylline warnings could be fatal to peace.

AGAINST PREVENTIVE WAR

In the case where all this would proceed with cold calculation and against all expectation, the results would be catastrophic for humanity. They would go beyond the limits of classical Macchiavellianism to take on the dimensions of a bankruptcy of man in his attempt to exceed his ethnic category in order to become reconciled with other men and to create a veritable humanity. No lucid being should hope to make the best of a similar situation. The consequences that the people who are suffering and who are fighting for their emancipation would draw from it would be irremediable and dreadful. China's technological power is a guarantee of peace and of development because she throws out of tune the old game of the balance of power. World peace will be better assured if a country of the Third World¹ is able to become a center of high intellectual development, of technical power, and of the ability to return tit for tat. This will be a guarantee against possible acts of despotism, of cowardice or of racist genocide; this introduces an advantageous disparity in the distribution of forces on the planet --- this is the grain of sand which makes the imperialist machine grate.

It is too often forgotten that modern science is not yet sufficiently implanted in the Third World, and that, for the development of our future plans to be gravely compromised, an abrupt darkening of international relations (which is always possible) would be sufficient. Understanding, of more or less brief duration, between western thermonuclear powers in order to impose a limitation and a minor management on the technical development of the Third World is probable, if there does not exist outside the west a force capable of opposing it if necessary. This

is what is understood by these so-called powers every time they evoke the problem of dissemination of atomic weapons.

The interest and security of the Third World demands that all the means of development, of domination and demand should no longer be the monopoly of the west.

In acting today for the preservation of China, to prevent the destruction of Chinese power still in limbo, the Third World has only to work lucidly towards the consolidation of its security.

In reality, the voice of the unanimous Third World would weigh with an enormous moral heaviness on the decisions of the only two nuclear powers on which the result of the situation depends.

In the particular case of the U.S.S.R., its strength, which is today able to safeguard peace and to serve the development of peoples, was equally menaced with destruction by imperialism when she was in gestation.

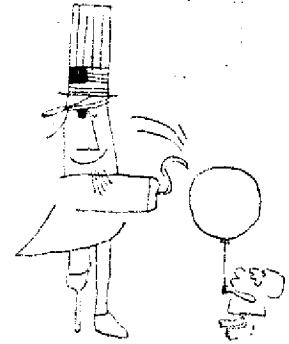
All the working peoples, without distinction of color, were then allied in order to hatch it, to protect it from October, 1917 to 1939; longshoremen of every country boycotted the preventive war against the U.S.S.R.; seamen mutinied in order to bring about a triumph of its cause, a cause identified with that of the world revolution. More recently, some scientists, by pure ideological conviction, incurred national indignity and prison in order to permit it (the U.S.S.R.) to have access to nuclear and thermonuclear power: Green Glass, Klaus Fuchs, Pontecorvo, etc. On the Ivory Coast, some blacks from the forest dressed in loin-cloths marked X's on some ends of bamboo without too much realizing what they did, it is true; nevertheless, this was their means of signing the Stockholm Appeal destined to assure peace, to forestall a premature war against the U.S.S.R. when its nuclear force was not yet assured.

ACTIVE SOLIDARITY

A state which was born and developed in such a moral climate should be available without equivocation, every time the peace of people is menaced.

A crusade resembling the "peace movement" when the U.S.S.R. had a real need for it, should be newly and immediately launched by the states of the Third World in a show of solidarity with China.

Since the end of WWII the U.S. has been leaving its traditional isolationism, has passed from one extreme to the other, and is now defending its 'security' on the



shores of each continent, even to the heart of the untrodden forest in the Congo.



A DEFUNCT INDEPENDENCE

It should be stated that any Black African state is already no longer independent (if independence has ever been effective) for no one would know how to alter his political regime without "uncle sam" becoming suspicious and paying him a visit. The U.S. is anxious to keep Africa in the Western camp, within its own sphere of influence, to speak more clearly. One shouldn't be able to "keep" an independent country.

The short period of euphoria and of easy terms following the declarations of independence, during which in order to obtain everything all you had to do was hold out your hand is completely ended everywhere.

For want of being organized in time on more viable unitarian political foundations, but implying more personal sacrifices, today only the period of "tears" which is at hand remains. Certain countries deceive themselves in trying to organize their individual safety. However, the only security possible in the actual situation of Black Africa is a collective one. Prospects for the future are gloomy.

Imperialism intends to organize anarchy over all the African Continent in a manner which will keep the political initiative that it has already regained, which had been taken away from it by liberation movements on the eve of the independence of these states.

Here in lies a new fact of capital importance, on which it is essential that the attention of Africans polarizes itself.

It is the plague that we have always denounced. Alas! Black Africa strongly risks receiving it as its lot. It is the spectre of South Americanization which haunts it with its cortege of unhappiness and misery.

One still remembers the stirring declarations of Quadros revealing that he was pushed by obscure forces when he was forced to abandon his authority in Brazil.

The U.S. made it clear to him, he said, that an underdeveloped country wasn't able to allow itself to have an independent diplomacy. This should be entrusted to an "appropriate power".

The occurrences in Santo Domingo are of such a nature as to edify even the most indifferent.

In the long run, no amount of "goodness", "realism", or "moderation", would know how to shelter one from this new form of insecurity. Nkrumah is made to sing today, tomorrow it is everyone who will dance like a cicada.²

One takes touching precautions to give imperialism the understanding that it will be very well to adapt itself to our socialism, for they are not malignant. Their inventors simply wanted to be fashionable in the domain of political expression; thus African Socialism is often a synonym for inoffensive socialism. Soon, as in the manner of the birth of philosophy, each African will walk with his socialist doctrine under his arm.

A CREATION OF HELL

However, one tries in vain to prove to the Americans that there is a difference between a devil whose tail burns like a torch and one whose tail only smokes, because for them, all socialism is a creation of hell, which as such should return there, if necessary with the help of atomic bombs. Forgive our illusions.

Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, and Congo(B) to different degrees are already menaced by imperialism, which does not desire that any political experiment whatsoever, conducted independently of it, might be conclusive, might be able, for that reason, to inspire in other countries inclinations towards independence. Thus, as a demon which torments dwarfs, it amuses itself in undoing the laborious work of the elves with a disconcerting facility.

The personality of General De Gaulle hinders the direct taking in hand of this part of Black Africa by the United States. Meanwhile, the U.S. is devoting itself to a systematic study, to a slicing up of the terrain in a manner of a checkerboard, and to an economic penetration as silent as it is efficacious. Their business groups control the administrative councils of former companies with French names: F.A.O., NOSOCO, SCOA, etc. As a beginning, they have just gotten control of 49% of the shares of the former Bank of West Africa which has now become the International Bank of West Africa.

PRETORIA ORGANIZES

On the other hand, the white minority of South Africa would be able to take the black continent from the rear. The British protectorates, enclaves of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, are easy prey. The seizure of Southwest Africa is complete, and outside the periodic speeches at the U.N. no one thinks about forcing Pretoria's hand. The white minority of Southern Rhodesia, which (cont. p. 160)

practices the same politics, will draw nearer to her at the opportune moment. The national liberation movements of Angola and of Mozambique seem to be halted or at least stabilized, that is to say, smothered for an unpredictable duration. This has only been possible with the complicity of imperialism. One should keep a close eye on the development of the situation in these two territories.

Congo(D) constitutes an ideal buffer state which would even be able to completely fall within the orbit of South Africa with the consent of the U.S., despite the actual appearances. And the counter-offensive to the independence movement doesn't stop there. England can explode the Federation of Nigeria whenever she may feel like it; other forms of interference are possible. The reduction of Black Africa to a few small semi-deserted states, engulfed in an endemic anarchy, is not impossible. While there is still time, it would be impossible to overly attract the attention of Africans concerning the preparations of war and the underground forces of South Africa.

The first reactor of this country (South Africa) already branched off several years ago; since that time, other more powerful reactors have probably been constructed in greatest secrecy so as to fabricate and stockpile plutonium in a quantity sufficient for undertaking the construction of tactical atomic bombs. Today, South Africa is sufficiently equipped in technical matters to fabricate bombs of plutonium which will detonate by implosion. 4.

However that may be, the case of Vietnam proves that, the moment at hand, the United States would easily find a pretext in order to provide, if necessary, tactical atomic bombs and others to the white minority. It is known that such devices are already stock-piled at Da-Nang base in South Vietnam, ready for utilization.

The physical separation of the communities that is being realized within the framework of apartheid would render possible a perfect genocide.

Today South Africa is feverishly organizing in order to resist, on the military level, the whole black continent.

It is hoped that the danger will be perceived in time. And it is there that the existence of a center of power outside the west, in the Third World, would permit a victorious offsetting of an eventual duplicity. South Africa constitutes for Black Africa the most serious danger on the road leading to an era of universal understanding!

Before this precise menace, as before the problems of constructing a rational economy and organizing a viable common market, Africans, isolated, are reduced to ineffectiveness. One would like to bring together the egoistic individual advantages of political separation and the collective advantages of a political federation of Africa. Surely this is the square of the circle. (he begins (cont.p.131)

to realize that egoism vis-à-vis Africa, skillfully set up in a doctrine of "wisdom," doesn't lead very far.

One understands in an obscure manner that at the end the new forms of insecurity spare no one: witness Goulart, Olympio, Maga, and Toulon.

THE DEFEAT OF BOLIVAR

We are entering into an era of humanity and humiliation. We will leave it only by the adoption of a political situation of a federal nature. One should think about the consequences of Bolivar's defeat with respect to Latin America.

It is certain that the interests of the people are hardly opposed to a similar solution. On the contrary, all invite Dahomians, Senegalese, Ivoiriens, Guineans, Malians, etc. to unite their abilities and powers in order to multiply their capacity to oppose anarchy and foreign domination.

An African political structure, in which an effort of rational economic construction would be able to be undertaken, does not yet exist. Its creation depends only upon Africans. When one attempts to consider economic regroupings outside of political domain, this difficulty is only a transposed illusion. A federal executive is necessary, however embryonic he may be, whom will be transferred a minimum of authority, permitting him, for example, to decide upon regional specialization, after a thorough study; then Senegal's vocation for a chemical industry would be able to be confirmed; it would be the same for the inclination to the heavy-metal and light alloy industry of the Guinea-Liberia ensemble; and that of the Ivory Coast for the industry of wood and its derivatives.

TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE'S OWN FATE

The organization of an African common market will consist then of studying the volume and outflow of the complementary products thus fabricated. A rational economic organization wouldn't know how to take precedent over the placing in operation of a valid formula of political unification.

One should note with astonishment that it is not known how to conserve the political experience of the colonial epoch on the plan of unifying diverse territories: the former federations of West Africa and of Equatorial Africa, of (page 162 cont.)



which the viability had been proved, are broken up in consequence of egocentric discord.

The originality of African political difficulties resides in the fact that one is obliged to realize by peaceful means that which in history is always accomplished by war and violence, when it is a question of political or cultural unification.

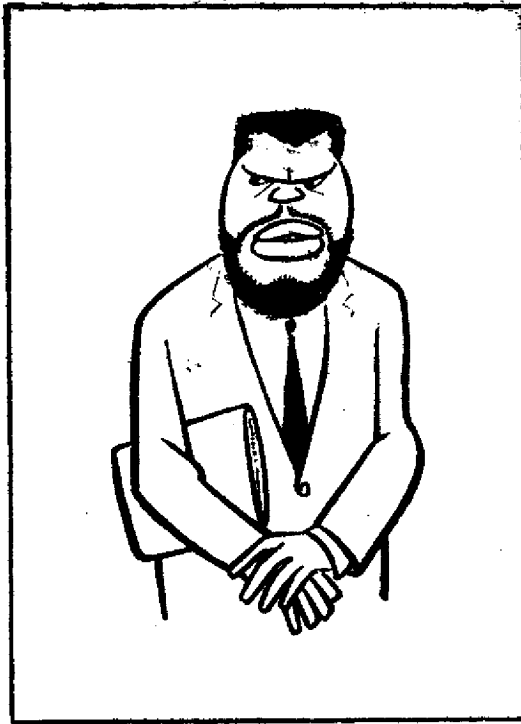
In the absence of a preliminary political solution, each African state will try to become an industrial micro-universe in order to be self-sufficient, all in being obligated to opt for installations of weak power and small capacity.

The groups devoid of power of decision, imposed upon everyone, which would not imply a partial and parallel abandon ment of sovereignty, will always be shortlived. The african political experience during these last years leaves us without any illusions as to this point of view, even for the Organization of African unity.

But all of that will not have been sorrow lost if it is at this price, and at this price only, that the African masses take cognizance of the fact that their fate lies in their own hands and not elsewhere, and that it is very necessary that they decide to assume responsibility for it.

footnotes

1. The Third World is that group of nations that have a common background of oppression and have the common objective of eliminating that oppression.
2. a cicada is an insect which is noted for the prolonged shrill notes of the male, produced by special sound organs.
3. Pretoria is the capital of the Republic of South Africa.
4. Without becoming overly technical it may be stated that basically there exist two ways of obtaining fission material for the construction of atomic bombs; one method, utilizing Plutonium 239, is probably the most widely used by nuclear powers because of the relatively less intricate instrumentation needed for production of this material; The use of Uranium 235 as fissionable material is at the heart of the other method, and has only been produced in the west at considerable cost (because of the necessity of refined processes in which over a thousand interlocking units, all functioning perfectly, have been necessary for this production). The advantages in having facilities to produce U235 means that the ability to produce tritium, a key element in the production of the H-bomb, is also near at hand.



ROBERT WILLIAMS: A NEW FIGURE ON STAGE AND SCREEN

Recently The Touring Artists Group (TAG) in Los Angeles, Calif, began presenting, If We Must Live, a three act impressionist play by Frank Greenwood. The play is based on Robert Williams and the Black people of Monroe, North Carolina's militant struggle against Ku Klux Klan and F.B.I. terror.

On the other side of the globe, at almost the same time, a Peking film studio produced a 70 minute documentary entitled: Robert Williams In China. It covers Mr. and Mrs. Robert Williams recent tour of the Peoples' Republic of China.

The Cuban Film Institute has further utilized the talents and background of Brother Williams. With his help they have just finished reproducing a documentary on the Afroamerican freedom struggle.

Good luck in your new career, Rob, at least we know you will do a better job in portraying Black masculinity than hollywood or broadway!

the man from f.l.n. : brother frantz fanon

by kenn n. freeman

"The spectre of a storm is haunting the Western World. Its foreboding presence is being felt in the great capitals from Rome to Bonn to Paris, to Brussels to London, across the Atlantic to New York and Washington, across the Pacific to Melbourne and Sidney: the spectre of a storm is brewing on the horizons of the West..."¹.

When the young, staunchly-Black intellectual Rolland Snellings thrust this legitimate observation before the oft-deceived Afroamerican people, I, for one, was sceptical of this 'spectre of a storm'. It was Frantz Fanon who hacked to pieces my uncertainty about this inexorable search of the Third World to be heard!

After reading the Wretched Of The Earth* I wanted to read everything by, and about, this Black man par excellence. Yes, he was a man because he wrote with courageous honesty; and he could know reality because he was born Black. I felt that by knowing his assertions and about his capacity to tell the truth that somehow I might exorcise myself from many of the puerile myths of my often ambiguous, but progressing life.

Each sentence Fanon placed on the page is like spoken roses, but when an unsuspecting reader allows it to enter into his mind it explodes like a bomb with a creative violence that smashes one to the ground of reality. Listen to another eminent Black Martiniquais paint us an a propos portrait of Fanon's unique style of writing: "Always, everywhere, the same lucidity, the same forcefulness, the same fearlessness of analysis, the same spirit of 'scandalous' demystification."².

Yes, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. As I digested the souffle-like flow of Fanon's words his 'scandalous' truth destroyed scores of my white-infested untruths, distortions and doubts about that universal storm of Black, Brown,

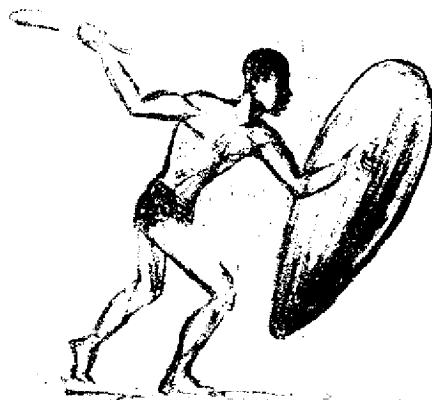
Yellow peoples....Thank You Brother Frantz.

Now I must tell you something about this man whose book, Les Damnés De La Terre, I have just finished reading for the third time:

Frantz Fanon was born in 1925 in Fort De France, Martinique, 'French' West Indies. Although he read medicine at the Sorbonne, and later specialized in Psychiatry, nevertheless he once said: "I don't give a damn about Europe, its culture and diplomas, or the institutions it tolerates which are just so many instruments of domination. We should chuck out that garbage and tell ourselves we have nothing to lose by doing so. Otherwise, no liberation is possible!"³. During World War II even though he was studying at the University of Paris he found time to work with Présence Africaine. Although later -- if not at this early date -- he had serious disagreements with this group over the concept of Négritude, they seemed to always have had the utmost respect for Fanon. Upon Fanon's tragic death in 1961 the father of Négritude, Aimé Césaire, summed up the feelings of the majority of the leaders of the études noires when he said: "Fanon is dead. We knew for months that he was going to die, but we were hoping against all reason, because we knew him to be resolute and so essential to our horizon of man, that some miracle would transpire."⁴.

In 1952 Fanon's first book Peau Noire, Masque Blancs (Black Skin, White Masks -- it is supposed to be published in English soon by Grove Press) was published in Paris. Immediately after that he started working as a psychiatrist in Blida, Algeria. When the Algerian war broke out, he joined the F. L. N., but he still found time to speak in Paris in 1956 at the First Congress of Black Writers. He was also the Chief Editor of the F. L. N. newspaper, El Moudjahid and during the same period he wrote another book, Year V of the Algerian Revolution. In 1960 he became one of the leaders of the Algerian Provisional Government, and then he went off to Ghana to become Algeria's Ambassador to that country.

It is reported that in 1961, upon learning that he had leukemia he merely laughed, and only expressed concern about whether he had time to complete his writings (he was at the time working on The Wretched of the Earth) and of course whether he would get the opportunity to die on the battlefield fighting for the F. L. N.



Maybe his contempt for death at that time was a consequence of the fact that he had faced it two times before, and each time he had leaped over its devouring precipice. The first time his jeep ran over a mine near the Algerian-Moroccan Frontier and he emerged with twelve fractured vertebrae, complicated by paraplegia and sphincteral disorders. The second time he was in Rome when the car in which he was to ride was wired with explosives by the "Red Hand" (the same group of French terrorists who murdered the Camerounian patriot, Brother Felix Moumié), but the bomb exploded prematurely, missing Brother Fanon, but killing 2 Italian Children playing near the car.

But no matter when Frantz Fanon died physically his writings have been kept alive and are being enshrined into the psyches of the new Black revolutionaries. They have inflamed the intellectual circles of all French-speaking Africa; and I predict a similar fate for his message in the rest of the 'Third World' -- including Afroamerica.

But not only are his works of importance to the exiled Africans in the western world, but the fact that Fanon was also a member of the forced diaspora makes him a critical example for young Black Americans. We are chronically asking ourselves 'What is Africa to us?' We want to know how we could possibly be of any benefit to the 'fellahin', 'guajiros', 'untouchables' and all the other 'Soul Brothers' of the universe. Again it's Césaire who points to an answer:

"Fanon probably soared to such heights and was possessed of so wide a horizon because he was a West Indian, meaning that he started from so lowly and narrow a basis. Maybe it was necessary to be West Indian, that is, to be so destituted, so depersonalized, in order to go forth with such ardour to the conquest of oneself and of plenitude; West Indian, this is to say, so mystified in the beginning as to finally be able to expose the most secret motives of mystification, and with such mastery; finally, West Indian to be capable of so forcefully escaping from impotency by action, from solitude by fraternity." 5.

Although Césaire speaks here of the West Indian, it is apparent from the context of his remarks that he is suggesting that mankind is obliged to be led by the dispersed of Ethiopia, the hewers of street corner melees, and drawers of white racist paternalism. He is saying that it is we, who are exiled from self and homeland, are best able to 'set afoot a new man'; and that it was Frantz Fanon who illustrates our potential.....Thank You Brother Frantz

I am going to discuss the Wretched of the Earth :

A couple of comments are in order in regards to the English translation by Constance Farrington of Les Damnés De La Terre. On the whole it is good. But there are two problems that can make for decisive confusion: one is the word "native" and the other is "Negroism."



Fanon in the original did not say "l'indigène" which is translated "The native". What he did say was "le colonisé" which is translated as "the colonized." There is an obvious big difference between "The native" and "the colonized". Translating Negritude into "Negroism" is dangerous because it leads to a greater misunderstanding of a school of thought that is already misunderstood in the English speaking world. My opinion is that it should have been left in the French when it was put into the English text.

When Fanon's book was first published in Paris, French liberals let loose their bag of trite, ambiguous barrages upon it, saying that it was too full of "violence and hatred," or that Fanon might be guilty of "racism in reverse." Incidentally the French Government subsequently banned the book.

In the U.S. the liberals are giving the book similar treatment: Harold Isaacs, "the non-responsible fellow-traveler" of Black thinkers has apparently been crowned the castrator of Frantz Fanon.

It is ironic that in his review essay⁶ of Fanon's book Isaacs saves his most caustic remarks for Sartre's introduction to the book. Isaacs says: "Sartre dances around Fanon like an excited small satyr..." This is ironic because both Sartre and Isaacs have often (or to be more precise, Sartre often and Isaacs virtually all the time) been the observers, attempting to analyze and interpret Black peoples' thoughts. But there is a generic difference between white intellectual Sartre and white egg-head Isaacs: Isaacs has endeavored to defoliate all blossoming progressive Black ideas -- with a stress on Afroamerican ones; however, Sartre has tried always to honestly interpret the beauty and significance of Black peoples' literature and political theory without telling us that we should want something different.⁷ (But this does not imply that Black people need Sartre to interpret for them; but White people need Sartre to show them why they are the most hated group of people in the Universe, and probably beyond.) In this context we can -- although we are not obliged to -- appreciate Sartre's dynamic, understanding preface; and likewise, all of Isaacs' thoroughly trite and condescending remarks should be scorned, and then forgotten.

Although we must suspect -- rather than respect -- Isaacs' position,

we must realize that he has considerable influence amongst the naive negro camp-followers of pet rnalistic white liberals. Hence for our confused brothers' sake we must wage a resolute campaign against his obstrusions on Black revolutionary thought.

When Isaacs looks at Fanon through his liberal-scope he sees all kinds of take-offs in "a succession of wild and blurry yonders." Although it is true that much of Fanon's thoughts are incomplete (is this amazing when the man knew he was racing against death to finish this book?), he is quite consistent with his two main themes :

"Now, the 'fellah', the unemployed man, the starving native do not lay a claim to the truth; they do not say that they represent the truth for they are the truth." (p.34)

The other focus of interest is :

"The nationalist militant who had fled from the town in disgust...discovers in real action a new form of political activity which in no way resembles the old. These politics are national, revolutionary and social and these new facts which the native will now come to know exist only in action. They are the essence of the fight which explodes the old colonial truths and reveals unexpected facets, which brings out new meanings and pinpoints the contradictions camouflaged by these facts... Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, and gives the key to them. WITHOUT THAT KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRACTICE OF ACTION, THERE'S NOTHING BUT A FANCY-DRESS PARADE AND THE BLARE OF THE TRUMPETS." p. 117 (emphasis added by kmf)

So when one reads Fanon's masterpiece he should keep in mind these enlightening passages; they are the containers that enclose the heterogenous insights that are spread like wildfire through this incendiary book.

Isaacs says that Fanon is saying that violence is the only way to win manhood. It is very true that Fanon is convinced that violence is the best arm of the colonized that can be used against the colonialist barbarity; he is also convinced that violence is of maximum sociological value because 'the colonized's violence unifies the people; and at the level of psychology: 'it frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.' But Fanon is quick to call a halt to generalizations :

"We know for sure today that in Algeria the test of force was inevitable; but other countries through the work of clarification undertaken by a party led their people to the same results." p54

Isaacs says that "it is not easy to play Fanon's game..(???? --kmf)...without a scorecard to tell you who the players are...." But Isaacs' bias to bourgeoisize everything Black proscribes him from seeing that Fanon obviously does not give a hot damn what the names of the players are in the (cont. p. 168)

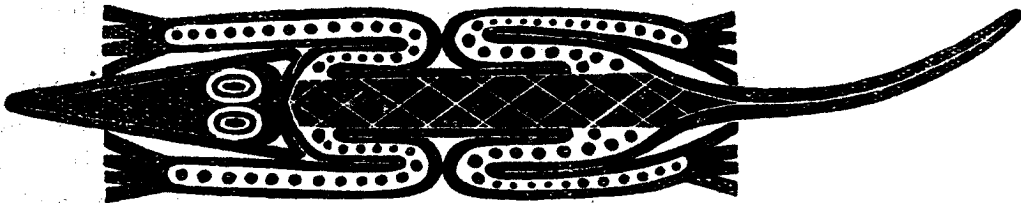
contest of humanity against inhumanity. In fact Fanon throws quid pro quo for the insipid Isaacs and his ilk :

"In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very western, very bourgeois and therefore contemptuous attitude that the mass are incapable of governing themselves. In fact experience proves that the masses understand perfectly the most complicated problems." (p.150)

So Fanon, in one of the most astonishing sections of his book, goes on to give myriad examples from his Algerian experience to prove this point. But he states that there is one hitch: "It is true that if care is taken to use only language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily prove that the masses have to be managed from above. But if you speak the language of every day; then you will realize that the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning and to learn all the tricks of the trade." (p. 151) To be sure the significance is not missed -- even by those who need 'scorecards' -- he goes on to say: "Everything can be explained to the people on the single condition that you really want them to understand." (p. 151)

While I am speaking of leaders it is noteworthy that Fanon's scoreboard gives us the necessary understanding to fill Afroamerica's scorecard on its fictitious Afroamerican political leadership (particularly if we apply his criteria to their game just before, during and after the 1964 Harlem 'riots'); and he also cooks us some food for thought vis-a-vis the post-independent Kenyan situation :

"What is the reaction of the nationalist parties to this eruption of the peasant masses into the national struggle?...They don't oppose the continuing of the rebellion, but they content themselves with leaving it to the spontaneous action of the country people..... They do not go into the countryside to educate the people politically, or to increase their awareness or put the struggle into a higher level. All they do is to hope that, carried onwards by its own momentum, the action of the people will not come to a standstill.. In Kenya for example, during the mau-mau rebellion, not a single well-known nationalist declared his affiliation with the movement, or even to defend the men involved in it." pp. 93-94



"Fanon wants no part of any kind of counter-racism, no part of Negritude. . . . no part of a "Black culture," no part of leaning on specious glorifications of the past. . . ." Isaacs does it again! He uses his pseudo-skill in sermonizing on quarter-truths.

The truth is that Fanon is very conscious of the fact that imperialism has 'devalued' the glorious past of Africa. And he, as much as Senghor, Césaire or J.A. Rogers is convinced of the historical necessity of studying the history of the colored peoples of the world, and particularly Black people studying their own history regardless of what nation-state they might live in. But he goes on to say that the colonized intellectual "is obliged to dissect the heart of his people." (p. 171) So he carries this line of reasoning further and observes that often those who profess to tear themselves away from western culture embrace, rather pretentiously, a few "outer garments" of traditional African life (sandles, etc.); but he observes that what these intellectuals are concerned with cannot bring them to an understanding in order 'to measure the real situation which the men and women of his country know.' (p. 180) He adds that when the people take it upon themselves to struggle against their colonial oppressors their "principles of custom" are undergoing radical changes, mainly because these same principles during colonialism acted as "safeguards" (roughly defensive mechanisms) and during the struggle it is violence and/or political action which become the "safeguards". Thus he comes to the conclusion that at this critical period when the masses are looking toward the future, the intellectual "paradoxically turns toward the past and away from actual events." 8.

Although there might be room for argument on this provocative view, this argument does nothing to substantiate Isaacs' claim that Fanon "wants no part of Négritude." Fanon gives other arguments on the failings of Négritude, (e.g. culture should be primarily national instead of supra-national), but in the final analysis Fanon does no more than point out the contradictions, in a dialectical sense, of much of the ever-changing-multi-interpreted concept (style?) of Négritude.

Other than Isaacs there are other white intellectuals who treat Fanon with more respect, but who seem to be more interested in "Donneybrooks" than decolonization. They say Fanon underrates the degree of cultural continuity which exists between pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa. For example, "All African phenomena -- even dancing -- are to him functions of colonialism."⁹ Fanon does not say -- nor does his position imply -- that dance and possession are products of colonialism: What he does say is that the submerged aggressivity (that muscular motion which the obstacle of colonialism accentuates towards motion, but before the anti-colonial struggle it is generally expended on other colonized, or in the culture of the colonized) of the colonized is (cont. on page 170)

'canalized' in the dance and the possessions. Thus he is not questioning the fact of any survival of the pattern of the traditional life; but he is stating that in this way their 'principles' (that is the attitudes of the participants as opposed to the form and content of the culture) to an important degree have been radically transformed. He later says that the struggle for decolonization does the following to the cultural life of the people: "And the youth of a colonized country, growing up in an atmosphere of shot and fire, may well make a mock of, and does not hesitate to pout scorn upon the zombies of his ancestors, the dead who rise again, and the djinns who rush into your body while you yawn. The native discovers reality and transforms it into the pattern of his customs, into the practice of violence and into his plan for Freedom." (p. 46; emphasis added by kmf)

It is of prime importance to understand that Fanon not only does not underestimate the cultural continuity which exists between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa, but in fact he exalts the banner of traditional Africa controversially high:

"The peasant who stays put defends his traditions stubbornly, and in a colonized society stands for the disciplined element who interests lie in maintaining the social structure." (p.90)

He goes on to say:

"These men (revolutionaries who have been exiled from the city...kmf) discover a coherent people (the peasants...kmf) who go on living, as it were statically, but who keep their moral values and their devotion to the nation intact. They discover a people that is generous, ready to sacrifice themselves completely, an impatient people, with a stoney pride." (pp. 101-02)

Fanon (like Sekou Toure) sees much of the peasants' preserved customs as of prime importance in the process of decolonization:

"The memory of the ant-colonial period is very much alive in the villages, where women still croon in their children's ears songs to which the warriors marched when they went out to fight their conquerers. At 12 or 13 years of age the village children know the names of the old men who were in the last rising, and the dreams they dream in the 'dours' or in the villages are not those of money or of getting through their exams like the children of the towns, but dreams of identification with some rebel or another, the story still today moves them to tears." (p.92)

Now I am going to turn to an entirely different aspect of Fanonism: I feel that I should help clear up misunderstandings and destroy deliberate distortions of his views; I also feel obligated to present legitimate excuses for him in light of the fact that he died prematurely, so that many of his virtually posthumous ideas are incomplete; but I will never adulterate him. He himself crystallized many of my preexisting doubts about the "cult of the personality." So now I come to a crucial subject which I feel his ideas (cont. p. 172)

need elaboration and modification.

Fanon's experience with Afroamericans from the U.S. was largely confined to a small segment of Afroamerican intellectuals: that is the Richard Wrights, the Mercer Cooks (who was reportedly in a state of virtual shock when, at the 1956 Black Writers Conference, Aime Cesaire told him that the Black American lived in a semi-colonial status.) which Fanon came in contact with at the 2 International Black Writers Conferences. Those Blacks are, in the main, the protagonists of the 'integrationists' position. That is, broadly speaking, they felt that life's greatest tressure lay in gaining admission into the 'priveleged circles' of our white American oppressors; and also they reject the view (or have never seriously considered it) that politically, economically, and hi storically Black America is part of the 'Third World' -- even though it is a large minority geographically imprisoned inside the 'first world.'

Even with this major handicap Fanon notes that they (the Blacks in North, Central and Latin America) display a need to 'attach themselves to a cultural matrix; and in this sense "Their problem is not fundamentally different from that of the Africans." (p.174) Now it is apparent that Fanon was reacting to these 'white-negroes' when he perceives the obvious that interracial movements (which try to pass themselves off as Black organizations) which are trying to eliminate racial discrimination have "very little in common, in their principles and objectives, with the heroic fight of the Angolan people against the detestable Portuguese colonialism." (p.174)

In regards to the latter I believe that Fanon would have reacted in an entirely different manner if he would have had an intellectual rapport with the new intellectual 'Soul Brother' that is now imprisoned in the domestic walls of el imperialismo yanqui. Rolland Snellings poeti cally points to this difference between the Black Americans Fanon talked with, and the ones Fanon should have talked with :

"They (the Afroamerican youth..kmf) are the products of an epoch of international flux and ferment, and as such, are almost totally estranged from the outlooks, attitudes and loyalties shared by the older generations of Afro-Americans. Being children of change, burned by the fires of change, they reflect and embody the fiery, stormy atmosphere now raging in the world".

So I ask what would have been Fanon's reaction to those Blacks like the late Brother Malcolm X or Donald Freeman who see Afroamerica as an extension of the Third World; who see the exploitation of the Afroamerica as a state of domestic colonialism (that is in this instance, in place of the usual method of an imperialist power establishing a colony in a nonindustrialized society, the U.S. brought Blacks to the U.S. from (cont. p. 173)

Africa with the result of creating a colonial system, comprised of Africans, inside the U.S.^{12.}); and those who infer from this that Afroamerica in order to become free must be decolonized. We believe his position would have been "pro-Malcolm" because it is his position on decolonization and his description of the problems of the 'Third World' that lend great credence to the latter Afroamerican view.

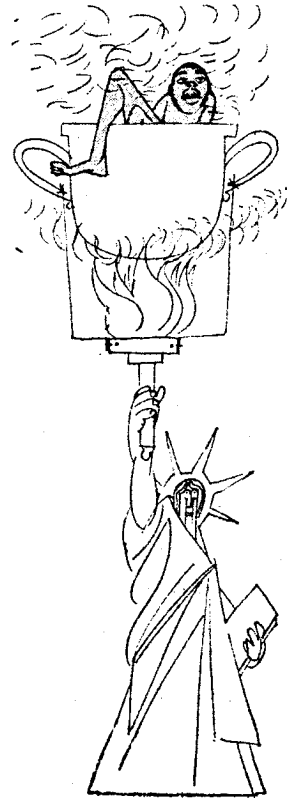
Is it not ironic that in almost every respect the socio-economic factors that form the basis of the Afroamerican revolt (and often manifestations of resignation) were the basis of same in Fanon's adopted Algeria? Even the problem of high crime rates -- that is Black people killing Black people -- (which Fanon beautifully demonstrates is a result of Colonialism) in the Casbah in Algiers is found (with the identical causes) in all Harlems, U.S.A.

The ubiquitous problem of underdeveloped countries being shackled to a useless caricature of a bourgeoisie, which Fanon writes so devastatingly about, is one of the main problems of the liberation movement in Afroamerica. Was it not largely a representation of these 'intermediaries' between U.S. Finance capital and the Afroamerican masses which gave Fanon, at best, a distorted picture of Black America?

The point of the matter is that what Fanon is saying about those Africans, Asians and Latin Americans who 'want nothing more than to be a transmission line for western capitalism' was said about the '(white) house niggers' of Black America by E. Franklin Frazier (but in a much less revolutionary context) in his classic Black Bourgeoisie.

Let me take off with Fanon's framework and examine some of the crucial parallels that indicate that Afroamerica is a part of the Bandung world:

In much the same way as "in the colonized territories, the bourgeois caste draws its strength after independence chiefly from agreements reached with the former colonial power," (p.142) Civil rights bills and supreme court decisions give power and prestige to the bourgeois-oriented American Negro leadership.



Both of these 'bourgeoisies' were created for the ultimate benefit of the European and his American descendents. It protects 'whitey' (at least he thought so until the Battle of Watts) from the Black masses and from the emergence of revolutionary tendencies in the masses by offering the prospect that they may perhaps share in the economic 'melting pot'.

But this middle class "lacks something essential to a bourgeoisie: money." Thus for them to 'complete' their revolution they obtain money from and dependence on those white liberals and leftists who have never accepted (if they accept it logically, they hardly ever accept it emotionally) the possibility that either Afroamerica or the rest of the colonial world can solve its problems apart from the European and American working class; or before the emancipation of white labor.¹³

These white 'progressives' who attempt to tie the anti-colonial struggle of the Black South African to a paternalistic White liberal party and/or a racist white South African working class, or the French Communists who asked the French working class to send 'care' packages to French troops fighting against the Algerian Liberation Movement (F. L. N.), have done little to lessen the exploitative¹⁴ nature of the relationship between the developing world and the European working class movement. This powerlessness -- and many times treasonableness by those who never cease to talk about solidarity of humanity, 'but murder men in all the corners of the globe' -- in attempting to increase solidarity between whites and blacks is also apparent in the abortive attempts of white american leftists and liberals to use their money and the Black Bourgeoisies' dependence on them to force Black people to unite with white workers who are unequivocally unwilling to unite with Blacks (either foreign or domestic).

A cursory examination of nationalist movements in Asia and Africa (along with Latin America these are the areas where "the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated ... and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows to imperialism."¹⁵) shows that one of the prime motivating forces of initiating these national movements has been the determination to end this exploitative relationship between white-liberal-leftists and the anti-colonial struggles of the 'Tiers-Monde.' This was true in the case of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain of French speaking Africa which was the political mother of such successful national movements as Toure's PDG and Keita's Union Soudanaise (and sadly Boigny's uncle tom clique in the Ivory Coast). Undoubtedly George Padmore, the West Indian intellectual who influenced the intellectual directions of Nationalist movements in English speaking Africa, broke with the Stalinist Comintern primarily because he felt Moscow was attempting to control those affairs that should be in the hands of Africans. It seems to be one

of the reasons that Ho Chi Minh started the Viet Minh (that is, his departure from the French C. P.). One can also suggest that Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese Communist party became more nationalistic because of its early friction with Russian advisors.

It is of the utmost significance that in both South Africa and the U.S. the Black masses have flocked to the banner of Black nationalism more than they have to any other position; and in both cases the rebellion against white liberal-leftist paternalism was one of the prime stimulating factors of the leadership, if not also the rank and file. In South Africa Clements Kadalie's Garvey-inspired Industrial and Commercial Union¹⁶. and in the U.S. Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association succeeded in obtaining the allegiance (both during the 1920s) of a high percentage of the Black masses, in these respective countries.

With respect to South Africa and the U.S. this identical motivation of anti-white-liberal-leftist paternalism is seen in even more plausible examples: The Blacks in the U.S. and those of South Africa (It is quite relevant that in both of these countries it is a case of domestic colonialism) have increasingly defected from moderate, interracial organizations and been attracted to organizations with a more Black Nationalist, radical orientation which attempts to have these organizations controlled and dependent upon Blacks in their respective countries -- with the corollary of ignoring the white working class and its purported theoreticians.

It seems to me, if I can be permitted the luxury of regressing back to Fanon's book, these examples clearly suggest the validity of his contention that a national consciousness must precede a social consciousness.

So from the framework we have obtained from Fanon we can say that he has given us the tools to see clearly the trend, and the fact that it is historically legitimate, in the best tradition of the Bandung Conference that Afroamerica is more and more struggling to become DECOLONIZED.

"The parallels that we find in Fanon's book The Wretched of the Earth between our struggle and that of our colonized brothers and sisters in other parts of the world illustrate clearly what a people must do to liberate themselves."¹⁷ You are so right brother Larry Neal.....thank you brother frantz fanon: it is you who gave us the lessons on how to shatter our manacles and to make them into razors and swords so that we can carve out a world that will be free of those white european and white american inventions of 'atomic'

'spiritual' and
racial
disintegration.



Forging Shackles Into Swords

Woodcut by George Wolf

Footnotes

1. R. Snellings, "Afro-American Youth and the Bandung World" Liberator, Vol. V, No. 2 (Feb. 1965), 0 p.4.
2. "Homage to Frantz Fanon," Presence Africaine, Vol. 12, p. 130 by Aime Cesaire.
3. Dr. Bertene Juminer, Ibid., p. 139.
4. Cesaire., p. 130 Ibid.,
5. Ibid.,
6. Harold Isaacs, "Portrait of a Revolutionary," Commentary, Vol. 40, No. 1 (July, 1965) pp67-71. also see one of the most chicken-shit articles of the year: George Breitman, "A Review of the Wretched of the Earth", The Militant Nos.33&34 .
7. se Francis Jeanson, "Sartre Et Le Monde Noir" Presence Africaine, no.7, p. 189.
8. This argument reminds me of what the Black jazz critic A. B. Spellman asked: "...who are the ofays(whites) who've appointed themselves guardians of last years blues?"
9. Conbr Cruise O'Brien, "The Neurosis of Colonialism" The Nation, Vol 200, no. 25

10. Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism, A Short Political Guide, p. 97 New York: Praeger.

11. Snellings, p. 5

12. Another variation of domestic colonialism is when an imperialist power brings or successfully encourages a large number of its nationals to come to a non-industrial part of the world/seize the best land, take over and create a European society adjacent to the indigenous society, while dominating the latter. Examples of this are South Africa, Rhodesia and colonial Algeria. The basic differences between these and the U.S. situation is that the exploited non-european in the former is in the majority, and he still resides in his ancestral homeland. But, sociologically and politically the problems of Afroamerica, and for example coloreds, blacks & indians in South Africa are virtually identical. But it must be added that the Afroamerican socioeconomic structure is primarily urban and proletarian while even in South Africa the structure is primarily agrarian with a strong emphasis and dependency on migratory labor for the white industrial-urban complex.

But in a definite sense the domestic colonialism found in U.S. and South Africa, Rhodesia etc. are mutually more similar than the relationship between them and other parts of the "Tiers Monde" because: (1) Their problem is not just a colonial problem; it is also, (2) the fact that the oppressor of the colonized people is situated within the same territory and economy that one finds the oppressed colonial group. So their problems are dialectically and complicatedly interrelated.

13. Buchanan, "The Negro Problem" - An Outsiders View, Monthly Review, (September, 1963) Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 238

14. The working class of Europe and U.S. gain primarily from the exploitation of "The Third World" because foreign trade with and capital export to the developing countries make possible the importation of cheap wage goods and enlarge the profits of the capitalist class. These factors allow the white workers to improve their standard of living without arousing, to a significant degree, the animosity of their employers. Black workers, who are twice as unemployed as white workers and whose family income is less than 1/2 that of whites, obviously do not benefit from this blood-sucking cushion. In a similar way a section of the capitalists in the U.S. reap excessively high profits from Black America. Likewise a section of the white working class benefits from U.S. racism, and practically all white workers are convinced that they benefit from U.S. racism, assuming that they would not enjoy workers' control as they enjoy the luxury of white supremacy. In fact, as a result the white american working class is so disinclined in Workers solidarity that they have allowed their big labor leaders to become more conservative than big business leaders.

15. Pierre Jalee, "Third World? Which Third World?" Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution, Vol. 1 No. 7 (November, 1963)

16. G. Padmore: Pan-Africanism or Communism? New York: Roy Publishers, p. 349

17. L. P. Neal, "A Reply to Bayard Rustin: The Internal Revolution", Vol. V, No. 7, Liberator (July, 1965)

* Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth, New York: Grove Press

** from Peking Review

*** from Peking Review

do jesus?

by carol freeman



She was born in 1900, sometime in the month of April, in the cool, early spring of the year, the 9th and last child her mother was to bear. Her entry into the world was heralded by no one, except possibly her mother who had spent 3 days in labor, and who at 49 was drying up inside, withering and snarled like the peach tree in the yard, who for a brief moment had felt the young sap rise deceptively within her and conceived.

They named her Hannah, after slapping her two or three times to bring the breath to her, and her eldest sister who had midwifed her, wiped her down with fresh sun-washed muslin, greased her liberally with tallow, tied on a belly band of linsey wollysy, tied her kinky soft hair with a piece of greased string, wrapped her in muslin, laid her in her mother's arms.

Sometime that evening after the birth smell had been aired from the cabin, and the fried meat and greens had been put to the back of the stove, the washing taken in, her father had ambled quietly in to stare quietly at his woman lying sunken and ashy-pale in the lumpy cotton stir mattress and at his 9th girl child. He cleared his throat once or twice, feeling that some words ought to be spoken. "Well." "Yassir," she murmured sadly. "Well ol' woman, quittin' time ain't it?" And she smiled to herself, warmed by the gentle humor of his words. "Reckon tis, suh." "Haaarrumph!" He strenuously cleared his throat once more and went to slop the hogs.

Hannah grew like the willows down by the river bank, quickly pushing upward, tall, strong, bending with the seasons, running wild headlong with the wind, working silently at whatever she had to. The days fell into a (cont.p. 179)

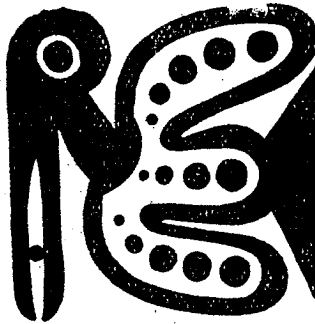
wonderful pattern, simple for a child, easily learned, up before day in the morning, to stoke the fire in the wood stove, eating hoeecake and sogam syrup, washing it down with strong chicory coffee, chewing the fried meat rinds from her mother's plate, when there was any, pumping water, priming the pump, feeding chickens, slipping hogs, making lye soap, building the fire under the big black three footed wash pot in the yard, scrubbing out clothes, planting cotton on the 5 acres plot in the back yard, hoeing cotton, picking cotton, picking berries, fishing with a willow pole, airing the mattress from her parent's bed, tying june bugs on strings and running with them to hear the buzzing noise, and running to hide under the house when ever a white man appeared riding down the road.

Life and death were no more a mystery to her than the quick summer showers that rushed down from the sky to damp the earth, settle the dust, and disappear. At nine, one hot dry summer day, her father died, twisting and foaming at the mouth like "blue", the old bird dog. Already he was stiff, tongue hanging out, and beginning to mortify two hours above ground; she had stood, rubbing one dusty foot against the other in curiosity and wonder that her father would carry on in such a way, her mother had run silently to her father to kneel helplessly beside him, and together they pulled him into the shade and Hannah had run to the turn row to get the bucket and dipper to give him a drink of water. But by the time she returned, he was dead and stiffening, and her mother broke years of silence to throw her apron over her head and keen long wailing cries to an earless master. "Lawd, lawd, doan tek him, doan load ? pleas jesus, pleas suh mastha, pleas! And Hannah was cowed and ashamed to hear her mother beg, and she waited uneasily to hear what the lord would say or do, staring at the hot cloudless sky, hearing the dry hum of crickets, june bugs, tree bees, but nothing from the great god., and angrily she frowned at the pale blue sky, and shook a helpless fist at the sun; her mother seeing the gesture, slapped her until there was a ringing in her ears, and the cotton shimmered dizily. "Gal, god gon strike you ded fuh such outlandishness!" And they stared at each other caught in pain of the moment, unable to speak. "Run fetch Carrie, tell er tuh brang bill an the younguns." And she turned and ran from the strangeness in her mother, and the silent god that could strike her dead, at his whim.

Running barefoot down the hot dusty road, blind to every thing except what had happened, she did not hear the lazy plop of hooves, or the rumble of the wagon, until rounding a bend in the road she was face to face with a wagonload of whites. Tall and lank in overalls, shirtless, burned red and raw by the sun, the color eaten from hair and eyes, they were, staring unblinking at her. (cont.page 180)

She stood rooted in terror and confusion to the middle of the road; the wagon was filled with thick white cotton and an endless number of white boys, all lank, all skinny, all with the same malevolent lidless white eyes of the blind. The man leaned over the side of the wagon and spat a dark brown stream of pungent tobacco juice at her face, and it dribbled down the side of her cheek onto her neck. Still she stood, staring. "Raf, fetch me a stick, so ah kin whup this nigger." The words rasped mildly from him, as he reached backward for a weapon. Suddenly they were pelting her with hard green cotton bolls, big as hickory nuts, hard as rocks, and she skittered off the road, into the ditch, and ran. The wagon creaked up, and lumbered on. The breadth tightened in her chest, and she stumbled over a clod and fell, afraid to rise, in her head was a picture of the man, and the wagon, and he was god, come to take her father, and strike her dead. She lay there some few minutes, and seeing she was not dead, she got up, and walked on to her sister Carrie's house. Inside her was a new something, a something that would walk inside her head as long as she drew breath, a fear and hatred of god and the white man.

This is an excerpt from an untitled novel by the author



the facade of bourgeois democracy

by donald freeman

This is an attempt to begin to understand "democracy" in its role as a facade for the western world. "Democracy" came about as a reaction to the upper class (the king, colonial master, and landed aristocracy). It was conceived as an attack on exploitation, a logical step in the war against man's exploitation of other men. It did not come into existence as purely opposition to the absolute authority, it came in order to stop the exploitation by authority. This was the case in the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and also true of the great revolutions which decolonized Latin America. It is so true and so much a factor in revolution that it can be asserted as the rule. This is the proper historical perspective for "democracy"; it was a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie to stop the feudal class exploiter, an attempt to destroy exploitation -- not authoritarianism!

If this is true, then the first step in discovering the fraud has been gained. We are told a thousand times, "We, the 'democrats,' are against the dictators", "We, the 'democrats,' have attained the highest state of government possible." As a consequence "democracy" equals freedom. It's not a stage or step in a struggle -- it is the culmination of that struggle. We are never told of its true origins as a weapon against the upper class exploiter, and that it is only one logical step in that fight.

We constantly hear of its merits; you are led to believe that no one need worry about being cheated or mistreated -- all one need do is participate -- "VOTE", (witness the loud slogans re: the voting 'rites' bill) and the good life is yours. We are also told that from within it can change to any degree necessary.

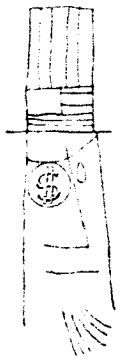
There are at least two more important facts to help us understand the fraud. One of these seems to be the simple fact that all established orders, including governments, seek to destroy all that threatens them, from within and without. The second important factor to realize is that the individual will still serve the needs of the State or Government -- those needs being determined either by the

true needs of the masses or the needs of a privileged few.

The conclusions to be drawn here is the not-so-very-alarming fact that the word "democracy" as it is used is of no value at all, and that it clouds if not completely distorts the real issues (this is the reason I write "democracy" with quotes). In an honest dialogue one would have to talk in terms of degrees of personal freedom, and the reasons why such freedom is secondary to the needs of the masses; and what are the problems incurred when exploitation is sanctioned as a personal freedom.

It seems to me that the reason for the distortion of the real issue is quite apparent; it is to hide the new exploiter. The old exploiter -- the king, feudal lord, or the colonialist -- has been thrown out, and in his place comes the bourgeois, capitalist exploiter, larger in number and much harder to see. He exploits from behind the shield of "democracy" -- a shield which he used in order to lift the bond of exploitation from his own neck and that which he himself now uses to retain his newly-found privilege of exploiter. One example: Recently James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality made a tour of Mother Africa. While he was giving a speech someone asked him why Blacks in the United States did not unite to win their freedom. Mr. Farmer claimed that Civil Rights organizations were purposely competing against each other to add "variety" to our struggle in the same manner as business corporations "compete" in the "democratic" system. Thus we see how one of the prime needs of the masses of Black Americans, unity, is being thrown to the white wind because our exploiters (and their agents) know the unity of Black America would lessen the degree and time in which our people could be exploited.

Here lies a serious contradiction -- a privileged class using a concept that is supposed to combat such a class. This is why "democracy" has been directed against the "dictator" -- the absolute authority -- and not the exploiter; anyone living in the western world realizes that exploitation is sanctioned and that they themselves are constantly being exploited; what is important is the realization that "democracy" can be surpassed and a new revolution called to rid the world of the new exploiter.



* * * * *

Reject Notes



aimé césaire

carol freeman

harold foster

ronald stone

k william kgositsile

glenn myles

ernie allen

rolland snellings

marvin e jackmon

Do I not have
a night-stained forefather

.....?

.....I am proud of my blood.

Nicholas Guillen

State of the Union Message

Without laughing, I imagine in Congress this message on
the state of the Union: a tragic situation

In the substratum we have left only 75 years of iron
50 years of cobalt
But what of 35 years of sulfur and 20 years of bauxite,
what is there in the heart ?

Nothing, zero,
mine with ore
cavern where nothing stirs
not a drop of blood

Emmet Till

your eyes were sea shells wherein sparkled the headiness
of your 15 year old blood.
your young eyes were never old
or rather upon them weighed,
more than could all the sky-scrapers, five centuries of executioners
or witch burners,
five centuries of bad gin of fat cigars
of fleshy paunches filled with slices of rancid bibles
five centuries bitter mouth of hags' sins
they were five centuries old Emmet Till
five centuries is the age without age of the stake of Cain

Emmet Till I say:

"in the heart zero
not a drop of blood"

and as for yours, may it hide the sun from me, may it mingle with
my bread

---"Boy from Chicago
is it always true that you
are equal to a white?"

He believed so. Even at the edge of night
at the edge of the Mississippi drifting between the high banks of
racial hatred its bars, its barriers, its sepulchral avalanches
he believed. He believed that a negro was equal to a white.

---"Boy from Chicago..."

So much sweeps away the wounded pride of racial vanity
and its cracking of whips
listen to the smooth singing of the bird of the blood
in the blue hedge of the veins
he foresees, mounting in the surprisingly blue field of sky
above the drowsiness of the bluffs
---the step of a mourner, the step of a gleaner---
your stealthy step, O vehement sun
then the night remembered its arm
and Big Millam's heavy pistol
on the living black wall of golden flesh
wrote in rusty letters the sentence and the state of the Union:

panting humming screeching
boring drilling
the earth says banks bibles bulldozers
the sky says sky-scrapers

I say silence
I say enough
20 years of zinc
20 years of copper
15 years of petroleum

and the 180th year of these states
but in the heart---painless clock
nothing, zero
not a drop of blood
in the brutish sterilized white heart.

translated from the French by SOULBOOK

Message sur l'Etat de l'Union

Sans rire, j'imagine au Congrès ce message sur l'Etat de l'Union: situation tragique

plus ne nous reste au sous - sol que 75 ans de fer
50 ans de cobalt
mais pour 35 ans de soufre et 20 ans de bauxite,
au coeur quoi ?

Rien, zéro,

mine sans minerais
caverne où rien ne rôde
de sang plus une goutte.

Emmet Till

tes yeux étaient une conque marine où pétillait la bataille de
vin de ton sang de quinze ans.

Eux jeunes n'avaient jamais eu d'âge
ou plutôt sur eux pesaient

plus que tous les gratte-ciel, cinq siècles de tortionnaires
de brûleurs de sorcières,

cinq siècles de mauvais gin de gros cigares

de grasses bedaines remplies de tranches de bobles rancies

cinq siècles bouche amère de péchés de rombières

ils avaient cinq siècles Emmet Till

cinq siècles est l'âge sans âge du pieu de Cain

Emmet Till je dis:

"au coeur zéro
de sang pas une goutte"

et pur le tien, qu'il me cache le soleil, qu'à mon pain
il se mêle

--"Garçon de Chicago

c'est-il toujours vrai que tu vaux

autant qu'un blanc ?"

Il croyait. Même au bord de la nuit

au bord du Mississippi charriant entre les hautes berges de

la haine raciale ses barreaux, ses barrières, ses tombales
avalanches,

il crut. Il crut qu'un nègre valait un blanc.

-"Garçon de Chicago..."

Autant en emporte le froissement du vent racial et son
 cliquetis de fouets
 lui écoute dans le bleu buisson des veines
 chanter égal l'oiseau du sang
 il devine par-dessus le sommeil des berges
 monter dans le bleu champ surprenant
 -- pas de pleureuse pas de glaneuse--
 ton pas furtif soleil véhément
 alors la nuit se souvint de son bras
 et le gros colt de Big Millam
 sur le noir mur vivant de chair aurorale
 en lettres de rouille écrivit la sentence et l'état de l'Union:

halètements vrombissements miaulements
 forements perforements
 la terre dit banques bibles bulldozers
 le ciel dit gratte-ciel

je dis silence
 je dis assez
 20 ans de zinc
 15 ans de cuivre
 15 ans de pétrole

et l'an 180 de ces états
 mais au coeur-indolore horlogerie
 rien, zéro
 de sang pas une goutte
 au carne blanc coeur désinfecté.

par aimé césaire

(réimprimé de Présence Africaine)

BACKWAGES

Here it is Monday:

four weeks from where you signed your mischeck
and said that perhaps someday
things'll be better.

I said here it is Monday:

a few steps
inside the twenty yard line
where we were ready for change
but was refused the birth right

That's right, Monday:

the blue day when you have to pay
for joyous weekends on black backs
and black bellies.

I'm still talking about Monday:

the day after your white Sunday
dinner with Teddy Roosevelt
Harryass Truman
Phallic headed Ike.

Yes, Monday:

four weeks after the due day
one day after the day before and
ain't time for going sloe.

Monday:

the final day of white lie
smust be done away with;
wasted
mistakes must be payed for
now.

But first we better kill that guy
who said "I'll pay you on Saturday."

Be careful society !

Dont eat men...

men are your organs' gardenflowers.

Men are roses in lungs
sweetening breath.

Men are lilies in sex organs
to make $x + y$
reproduce lilies
to remake $x + y$
for as long as $x + y$ happen.

Men are lotus in brains
exhaling
inhaling
aroma of meditation
creation.

Men are carnations in hearts
blowing love's blood
through body's every part.

Be careful society.....

A garden aint even crummy without flowers

by ronald stone

CARBON COPY WHITEMAN

In the corridors of your mind
fulsomely flattered by Ivy League or Oxford
glib fancy of self-emasculatation
would-be brother, how do you plan
to placate the fury
this black light burning bright
scorching everything anti-human, civilising man?

Is your waist-leap conscience
an experimental death,
a fear of Being self,
a slave brain-child of European refugees
thriving in the ghetto of your mind ?
Is enslavement between white sheets a modern ethic
Or simple rose-tinted glasses on your twisted head
up in the crotch of your natural enemy
an obvious concentration camp for imitation whitemen

Check this out
Even the seasons of the year change.
Day yields place to night
The sun is setting on your soul.

by k william kgositsile

notes from great society prison:
dedicated to the Watts War On Poverty

I. Somnambulism

i was once a model prisoner
drowning in a wretched record groove
etched to stale vibrations;
unable to hear for the rankle
of chains about my ears
unable to see for the clogging
of bright neon waxing my retina
unable to think for the brutal shock
of cattleprod upon inhuman body
i was once a nigga

but prison gives you time, bro.
time
you only have time
to eat to bleed to pee
to make coldsteelblack license plates
to kiss the onerous ass of the eagle
whose droppings of democracy
litter the earth
you have only time
and sometimes they would take
cattleprod away and
confused thoughts would come
come rushing throbbing
bobbing to damp forehead
like broken record like
a record i
once heard by max roach (i forgot the name*)
and i had time to see think of
things i wanted to forget
forget white mist surrounding
confounding mind

192 allen

i was once a prisoner, bro.,
trapped in the vortex of
a black, bottomless mire
which had been
dammed damned destructed
confinedcontained corrupted
until
the mudanoozanshitan
jesusknowsanwhatnot eructed and
bubbled to surface in jive
mightywhite pressure
cooker each time i
came up what thought last time
gazed through chains air rank searing eyes
glazed with scent of mutilated flesh i
searched searched saw cross off on
off onoff onoffon awaited mist while 400
years on a neon cross yo mama
hoho and a bag of tricks faith on jesus off...
i wished i could have been one of pavlov's
dogs in a warm laboratory somewhere

II. Delirium

foaming
slobbering nightmare slipped in slithery
eagleshit and saw wooly wall peeked
through tarnished thick asphalt with
feathery vines in brassplate foliage:

Landscaping by
Tricknology Associates
Madison Ave., N. Y. (10001)

nono please if sorry i won't challey
 let go please this time no dragged
 through stolenblack powerhouse pushed
 and passed by
 nigganiggas with mustangminds
 relaxing on ebonycouches in
 a wing for model prisoners enjoying
 a more comfortable kind of
 slavery slipped as hunkdunk
 came off the wall
 until
 one fine day the mightymotherfuckerfelland
 not one buckaroo
 knew how to
 put back together again the
 fonkywhite fartifactegg whose
 meaning long ago had cracked and peeled
 away in the vortex
 the jive-time eagle stirreth its nest but it's
 too late, baby, as flickering hourglass glows and
 drips quietly out of time with
 benevolent giftgrains
 of powdered
 paternalpastywhite eagle turds
 in c.a.r.e. packages --
 universal makeup for shitty deals pulled

III. Revelation

through stifling sterile whitewashed
 halls chains on dragging concrete stood
 in line with other risks
 and waited my turn then i saw
 the sloppy beastina
 with the blank white uniform
 with the blank pastyface
 with the blank screech
 next and the shaky bro.
 in front of me suddenly

stopped humming the
blues he was humming
stopped bopping the
walk he was bopping
stopped existing
and he dug
deep

down
into his pocket and
brought up his most
cherished possession his
black soul then
i saw a ravel unwrinkle
in the place where her
beak was supposed
to be and i guessed
that it was meant to be
a smile but i was not quite
sure since she had no face only
dry cracks and crevices where
infallible masqued factor could not
stand the mechanical strain
of a frigid grin

IV. Aurora

when i would not give
up my precious soul my
precious black soul
my raw materials
when i would not allow
my only possession to
be expropriated (i
dared to be a man
and to be black simultaneously)
she called the
overseers she called them
bogue house niggas
put me in sol i tary with

other disbelievers but
(i saw max roach)
i did not mind this so much as
i could now fart and sing my funky blues
and scratch between
in hibernation without
feeling that i had to please
anyone but myself and i
knew that 1 day we
would escape this putridity
would negate its existence
would rise to claim the aurora;
my precious soul, which i had carefully saved (praise jesus)
would become a vital part
of the burning, black I
which would help to remake
reshape
the world

V. Message

there exists a very fine line
between standing on the corner
and falling in the gutter, bro.,
and each day,
each one of us stands at least
momentarily on that corner,
if only
to reach the other side.

by ernie allen

* Mendacity

196 snellings

BANDUNG WAR POEM

(for Adlai Stevenson and Martin Luther King, Jr.)

"People" say:

that war is wrong; violence
never solved a thing.

"People" say:

that to greet hatred with hatred
is an evil thing. "People" say
they "dread" the Sword, and yet
blood flows throughout the earth
- a mighty river pregnant with
spring flood-rain; while suave
in hallowed Halls of Gold, bland-voiced

"People" say:

"He who lives by the sword..."

Why persecute the Sword? It is
an arm of man, it helps him work out
his destiny upon the Human Stage.

See it flash! Blue steel dripping
crimson gore; catching the light of
the Eastern Sun as it passes through
the West: grasp the Sword

within your work-scarred hands. It is your tool
to make the world anew. Your dignity.

Never mind what "People" say:

We will bury hypocrites!

when we build the world anew with the Sword.

by rolland snellings

The Goose

Like a goose who never flew, but does now --

I started through the Carthage hay of rising

Boys all down the turning fields where deep-down

Some graces must start.

I flew a "Black Man's Solo" against the naked walls

Far up towards the zenith before I flickered in the

Light and dove with a tired roar to rout these unchanging

Stars --- so lonely in life, and so

Close to death.

by glenn myles

feral spring cat

footed

flits around the cor

ner and

black legs flailing i

followonly

to find a d i s t a n t

shape in the trees a thinning sound in the wind and

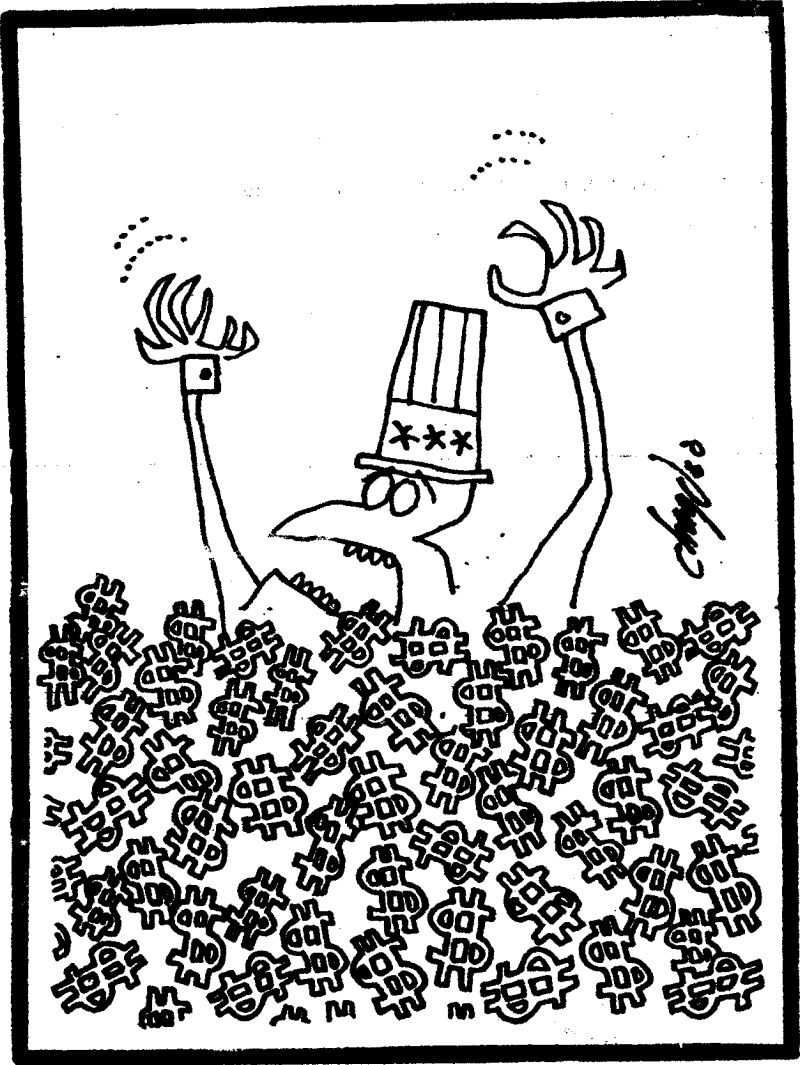
that I've grown older and

slower and far away

spring

is

by carol freeman



partners in white racism

by k. william kgositsile

If you are born in America with a black skin, you're in prison..." so said Brother Malcolm. The same condition applies to a Black man born in South Africa. The only difference between these two members of the white Christian unholy alliance is that the whites who rule South Africa are less hypocritical than the trigger-happy European refugees who usurped the rule of America from the aborigines they massacred.

The settling of Dutch criminals in South Africa in 1652 was heraldic of the African's present nightmare. These criminals started stealing people's cattle and sheep along the sea coast and when the people demanded their property back, they killed them. When the English learned how easily they could get supplies at the Cape of Good Hope (can you imagine that -- Good Hope?) on their way to plunder Asia, they joined with the Dutch in order to share the loot. They're still sharing it today -- with the addition of the rest of Europe. Today, for the preservation of white western Christian civilization, the whites in South Africa have deprived the Africans of every human right conceivable. In a country where the only human values are white, an African's life matters only in relation to how much he can sweat in the mines, plantations, and industries to make sure that the "great whiteman boss" enjoys his life thoroughly. In his own country the African cannot vote; he cannot choose where he wants to work (and to be super-exploited), he cannot choose what school to send his children -- if you want to call those fascist indoctrination institutions schools. The list of the everyday humiliations that comprise the African's life in South Africa is endless.

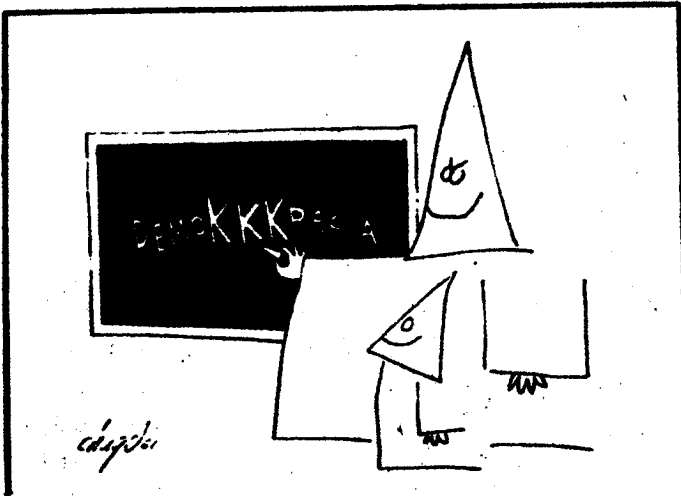
However, since Africans outnumber whites four to one, it is very doubtful whether the whites in South Africa could have managed to retain their position if they had not had allies and collaborators. One of white South (cont.)

200 kgositsile

Africa's leading criminal partners is the "democratic" United States of America.

I said that the United States was more hypocritical than South Africa; whereas South Africa did not sign the United Nations' Human Rights Declaration, the United States did. Can anybody show me any evidence that white America is interested in human rights? The only evidence of what these willful, adolescent fascist-maniacs are really interested in is their sadistic massacre of millions of people from the time they first landed in this country. Even today while liberal United States government spokesmen make glib, sugarcoated speeches, their paid henchmen murder millions of people all over the world and even get medals for doing it. But since I am talking about South Africa, what is the role of the United States in Verwoerd's Nazi-oriented, white western Christian apartheid machinery? There are over 160 American companies in South Africa with an investment of over a half-billion dollars exploiting cheap black labor, netting more profits than they could ever have dreamed of making anywhere else in the world. They take advantage of this because they know that in South Africa, Africans are prohibited by law from organizing unions, bargaining collectively, or striking. A South African Information Service release on March, 1962, clarified America's position in South Africa through a statement by U. S. businessman

Marcus D. Banghart, vice president of Newmont Mining Corporation, the United States company with the largest investment in South Africa: "We know the people and the Government and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars." Does this bigoted bastard really think he knows me and millions of my brothers in South Africa? Does he really think we do not know America's reputation in Africa, South America, Southeast Asia and in the United States, (cont. p. 201)



"DemokKKracy": The main subject taught in American and South African schools (from Bohemia)

where through her blood-dripping dollars millions of people have lost their lives simply because they want to rid themselves of the hideous atrocities of white imperialism? As if through her investments, trade and even small businesses America did not feel she would help white South Africa enough to maintain apartheid through capitalist super-exploitation of Africans, she used to sell them arms and ammunition to kill us. She stopped only when she was alarmed by the protests of freedom-loving nations at the United Nations. However, America continued to supply her criminal partner with equally strategic commodities like oil. And of course South Africa has been America's intimate partner against humanity for a long time. In the Korean War South African murderers fought side by side with American murderers and won 427 American medals.

America's policy in South Africa is not surprising in view of her treatment of Blac people in this country. I do not care how many glib lies U.S. State Department spokesmen tell in connection with democracy; I do not care how many fancy-worded bills they pass to decorate White House files their atrocious actions both in the southern states and the north show us how oppressive white America really is.

I know what I am talking about. I am black. I was born and raised in South Africa where even the house I lived in, the schools I went to, the type of education I could get, the places I could visit even as a small innocent boy, were determined and dictated by the interests of this white, western, Christian monster. I have lived in America, citadel of western corruption, where material values are more important than human values.

It was out of this country(America) that Robert Williams was forced to flee for safety because he was man enough to be determined to meet white imperialist violence with black defensive violence. Yes, it was in this capital of white western congenital chicanery that Brother Malcolm was assassinated because he was man enough to tell the truth. Yes, it was in this Christian country that four innocent Black girls were charred to death while they tried to worship a Christian god. It is in this "democratic" country that hundreds of Black people get killed by white racist maniacs for demanding their inalienable rights.

Black teenagers are constantly victimized and sadistically flogged in American cells as their soul brothers are in South African ones. I knew a lot of such victims in Johannesburg, South Africa, and I know quite a few in Harlem. Hardened criminals are often used by prison authorities to perpetrate (cont. p. 202)



JAILED—Two leading South African Nationalists, Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for "sabotage," on Robben Island.

perverted acts in South Africa, the guilty sit in judgement over the innocent in infernal institutions hypocritically known as courts of law. Who does not know of Black people being lynched, Black women being raped and Black men being castrated both physically and mentally by these upholders and defenders of western Christian civilization in America as their brothers are in South Africa? Even the American university, as the South African one, is an institution to train and mass-produce a certain type of white-washed idiot that could be trademarked **MANUFACTURED IN RACIST USA** or **MANUFACTURED IN RACIST SOUTH AFRICA**, depending on what side of the Atlantic you get your miseducation. But the white world cannot get all of us. Even the Roman Empire fell. And like I said in a poem: -

"...all I learned at your schools was what not to be. . .
Charlie, don't you know you're living on borrowed time?"

The Crisis Of Negro Reformism & The Growth Of Nationalism

by harry haywood

Brother Harry Haywood is the author of the classical Marxist interpretation of Black Nationalism, Negro Liberation (International Publishers, 1948). The following work is a chapter from his unpublished book, Towards A Revolutionary Program for Negro Freedom, which he wrote in collaboration with Gwendolyn Midlo. In the latter manuscript Brother Haywood combines his perennial fine tools of theory & research with new soulful applications that, in our opinion, makes it immeasurably more relevant than his erstwhile treatise. -- the editors --

The present -day Negro movement is characterized by the crisis of Negro reformism and the growth of Black nationalism. There are three main factors feeding this development:

1) The world-wide anti-colonialist upsurge; 2) The effects of growing economic crisis among the basic masses of Negroes; 3) Erosion of the myth of imminent, peaceful democratic integration.

THE ANTI-COLONIALIST UPSURGE

The international crisis of the imperialist system has had a profound impact upon U.S. Negroes. The world system of imperialism, with the United States as its leading force and arbitrator, is in retreat, fighting a rearguard battle to maintain and shore up the fragmented status quo already eroded beyond repair by the thrust of ascending socialism and victorious colonial revolution. The colonial system, the main prop of what is euphemistically called, "The Free World," is in an advanced stage of disintegration. White supremacy and its ideological rational, the spurious doctrine of racial inferiority, is collapsing before the forward surge of the new sovereign nations of Africa and Asia and the heroic struggles of the peoples of Latin America.

The strength of the Negro Liberation Movement, its growing momentum and impact, lies in the fact that it is the counterpart of this anti-colonial revolution which is shaking the world. Its particular significance lies in the fact that it is a revolt against what amounts to semi-colonial oppression in the heart of the world's leading imperialist country. Columnist Joseph Alsop (cont. p.204)

is close to the mark when he characterized the "Negro protest" as a "neo-colonial revolution," and comments that "this process more and more resembles the end of a colonial period."¹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Aside from the tremendous impact of the colonial revolution, we must take into account the internal social and economic factors powering the present Negro movement: the relative and absolute economic deterioration of the status of the Negro people resulting from frequent recessions combined with the inroads of automation which have hit the Negro masses disproportionately. Thus, the Negro worker is caught in the job crisis with the percentage of unemployed more than double that of the whites. The widening gap between Negroes and whites in U.S. society can be summarized with a few significant statistics:

The median Negro family income is 45% below the median white family income. Moreover, in 1952, this gap was "only" 43% which shows the direction in which things are going.²

Negro unemployment is two and a half times white unemployment. Among youth this gap is even wider. At least one-half of all youth out of school between 16 and 21 are Negroes, although they constitute only 15% of the population of that age group.

Long-range trends indicate a worsening of the situation. Loren Miller says: "The gap in white-Negro unemployment rates has increased since 1957 and unemployment spells tend to last longer among Negro workers than among whites. Nonwhite workers who represented 11% of the labor force and 22% of the unemployed accounted for 26% of the long-term unemployed -- which means that many of them are permanently jobless."³

Seventy-five percent of Negro workers are in unskilled, semi-skilled and service jobs, while the figure for white workers is 39%.

The average Negro born today has a life expectancy nearly ten years below that of the average white. In the South the gap is even greater.

One-sixth of all Negro homes today are designated by government surveys as "substandard", as compared to 3% for whites.

In Southern agriculture, the absolute decline in Negro sharecropping has taken place against the background of the decline in farm employment generally, which is the most drastic change since the end of (cont.p.205)



World War II. There is a shrinkage of Negro farm ownership, which is proceeding at a rate twice as fast as that of whites. And, at the other end of the pole, there is a greater concentration of Negro farmers at the lowest rungs of agricultural ladder. There is a great acceleration of the concentration of agriculture into large farms and plantations, and the growth of absentee ownership. While, on the other hand, the mechanization hailed by the "liberal" gradualists as a cure-all for the South's problems is not accessible to the poor farmer, and blocks access to the land by the masses of tenants and sharecroppers. At the same time, the displacement of basic soil tillers has been accelerated by the Federal Government's crop reduction program, the sharp edge of which has been directed against the poor farmer. While the big planters are continuing to expand their production, the small, family-sized farms bear the main part, if not the full cost, of acreage cut-backs. This situation has operated to increase the traditional disadvantage of the Negro soil tiller in every respect.³

These facts clearly show that the dominant economic trends in U.S. society are not towards imminent, direct integration of the Negro people into the existing social structure. On the contrary, the trends are towards strait-jacketing the Negro people into lower, frozen caste throughout the country which, in the words of one author, is "faced with more uncompromising segregation and larger slums."⁴

The institutionalization of Negro oppression is documented by Michael Harrington in his angry study of poverty in the United States, "The Other America." He reveals the structural basis for the continuation of Jim Crowism. Harrington points out that the Negro is an internal migrant who will face racism wherever he goes, who cannot leave oppression behind "as if it were a tsar or a potato famine. The present position of the Negro in the American economy has been institutionalized and unless something is done it will reproduce itself for years to come. The crisis is hitting precisely at those areas where gains in integrated work were made in the past two decades, in the semi-skilled jobs of mass production industries. And given the racial character of the American economy, this is a particularly severe blow to the Negro. It amounts to rebuilding the wall of prejudice, to destroying the advances which already have been made."⁵

The ever-growing economic problems of the basic masses of Negroes is a powerful source of discontent which is already bordering a strident disaffection and disillusionment with the American Dream.

EROSION OF THE MYTH OF IMMINENT, PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION

The struggle for Negro rights has reached an impasse. The myth of imminent, peaceful, democratic integration under the benevolent wing of the Federal Government is collapsing. The present struggle for freedom, far from being an onward and upward march from victory to victory, is threatened with serious losses and setbacks.

Reformism, from the most conservative NAACP leaders and white liberals, to the so-called socialists, including the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, made fundamentally false assumptions about the Negro question. They have all spread illusions which have contributed to the perpetuation of Negro oppression and at this point are disarming the Negro struggle in the face of the growing ultra-right danger. They have underestimated the ruthless determination of the Southern Oligarchy to maintain its traditional domination over Southern political life and its exaggerated prestige and influence in the Federal Government and in the Democratic party. They have operated on the naive assumption that the Southern Oligarchy would allow the Negro people in the South to gradually win enough rights to vote them out of office. They assumed that the Executive branch of the Federal Government would back up the Negro struggle in the South. They encouraged dependency upon the Federal Government.

Their basic mistake has been to underestimate the ruthlessness and power of the Southern Oligarchy, and to exaggerate the depth of the contradictions between the Federal Government and the Southern Oligarch states. It is true that the national administration of the post-war period have been pursuing a policy of making token concessions to the Negro people, mainly to improve the image of the United States abroad and to pacify the movement at home. But the dixie-crats know very well, and base their entire strategy on the knowledge, that foreign policy considerations become minor when it comes to the question of internal order. They have political power and refuse to give it up piecemeal. And the Federal Government will ultimately concede to them as long as they hold, and use, the blackmail threat of creating civil disorder, and the Negro movement stays within the framework of passive resistance.

The only way the Negro movement can free itself from the vise which is tightening around it is through independent, revolutionary struggle. This simple fact lies at the root of the crisis of Negro reformism. The Negro movement cannot advance further on the old basis, and in fact, it is faced with reversals and defeats without a revolutionary reorientation. Given the (cont. p. 207)

control of the state apparatus in the Deep South by the Oligarchy, which they will give up voluntarily, and the growing tendency towards appeasement within the Federal Government, especially marked as an aftermath of the assassination of J.F. Kennedy, the only effective weapon Negroes have at this point is to pose their own threat to internal stability.

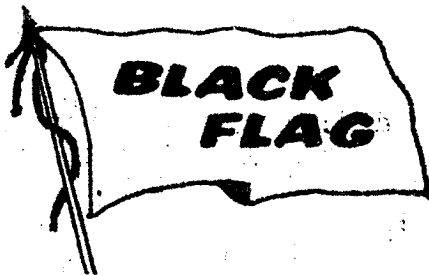
The clock cannot be turned back. The old methods have proven bankrupt. A new, revolutionary reorientation is the only alternative to despair, passivity, and escapism.

footnotes

1. As quoted in The National Guardian, 6/6/63.
2. Loren Miller, "Prosperity Through Equality," The Nation, 9/1/63
3. Ibid.,
4. Victor Perlo, "The Negro in Southern Agriculture"
5. Michael Harrington, The Other America, p.79.

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The Puerto Rican REVOLUTION

by alfredo peña of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico

After the assassination of Brother Malcolm X, solidarity was expressed with his followers, and particularly with his widow and children, from many diverse quarters. Nevertheless, many of us were pleasantly surprised when the youth of The Movement For Independence of Puerto Rico had James Shabazz, Secretary of the late El Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X) speak last May at their fourth National Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Thus SOULBOOK decided to reciprocate this expression of solidarity and to let as many Black people as possible acquaint themselves with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people -- who are predominantly colored -- for independence. In order to implement this commitment we have published this article by Brother Alfredo Pena in both Spanish and English. --the editors--

The Puerto Rican revolution began when the American imperialist forces landed on our beaches in 1898. In the last five years the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico has attempted to arouse the interests of the masses on the island and in New York, so as to unite and organize the proletariat to the call of national liberation.

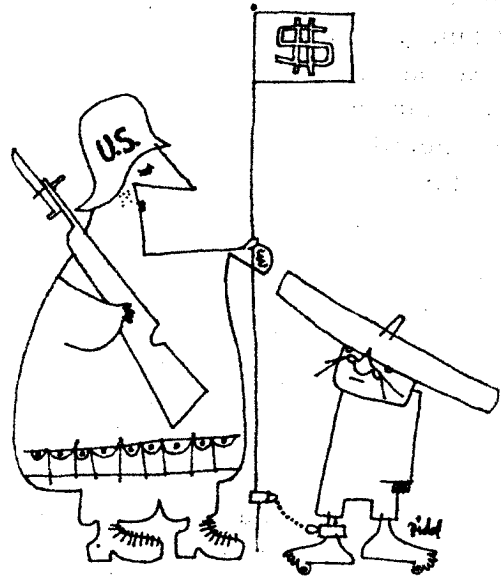
The revolution of Puerto Rico is imminent, but revolutions fail without the support of the masses. The peasants, the workers, the unemployed and the students must rally under the banner of independence in order that the struggle can rise into a dynamic and powerful force.

The American government has succeeded in indoctrinating our people and driving them into mass hysteria. Even a murmur of change or an inkling of independence is stifled by reactionary innuendos. The educational system, controlled by the Americans, has extracted Puerto Rican culture and history from its curriculum. Students learn more about the United States than they do their own island. The American business interests own more land, property, (cont. page 209)

and industry than the Puerto Rican people; for example, the beaches on the island are owned by luxurious American hotels, where the tourists can bathe for free, yet the Puerto Rican is forced to pay a minimum price to enter the beach.

Since 1898, American imperialists have sucked billions of dollars out of Puerto Rico in fruits, ore, oil, and sugar and have manipulated and exploited the people for a profit motive. As for the governor and the legislature of Puerto Rico, they serve only as instruments of the power structure of the United States, defending the upper layers of the Puerto Rican middle class while profiting from their own bureaucracy.

The term "commonwealth" which the United States has applied to Puerto Rico is a sovereign state. The lack of Puerto Rico's own president, government, economic, political, and social systems expose such a lie. Even the complete definition of "commonwealth" doesn't necessarily mean a free nation.



In relation to Puerto Rico the costliest crime of the American government is that it has erased from the Puerto Rican's mind that he is a part of a Latin American heritage. Under the American Government's system the Puerto Rican has discarded the traditions and customs of his history. He has journeyed through a cultural transition from one society to another. The transition is controlled by the machines of indoctrination of the American government. Such a channeled journey has diluted our people's morals: 40% of our youth in New York have embraced drug addiction, 31% in Puerto Rico; 26% of our women have entered the trade of prostitution in New York, 33% in Puerto Rico. Even the air in Puerto Rico has become polluted. In 1954 the United States began to build nuclear laboratories and have proceeded in testing various nuclear weapons off our shores. Experiments within the laboratories have been performed on Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

With the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the personality and character

of a liberated Puerto Rico was crystallizing. But on July 25, the invasion of American troops smothered all hopes for independence and freedom. Betances, one of the Puerto Rican revolutionary leaders, was summoned to France prior to the invasion to sign the peace treaty. On the eve of the attack on Puerto Rico a cry of reprisal from Paris rang out throughout the world: "We neither want to be colonized by Spain, nor by the United States. I'm surprised my people have not risen."

Eugenio de Ostos was travelling in the United States when news reached him that American troops had crushed Puerto Rican Independence with an invasion: "the sacrifices will be many . . . but the independence of our island will grow."

Before the invasion, 91% of the land belonged to the Puerto Rican farmers. Tobacco and sugar made up 66% of the production; by 1900 this production was owned and controlled by American capitalists. The Americans owned the rest of the land and controlled the diminutive agricultural reforms. The inter-commerce of the island remained in the hands of the Spanish upper class. The already established Puerto Rican bourgeoisie was secondary in its exploitation of the proletariat in comparison to the Americans.

Coffee had superseded sugar as a main source of income for the capitalists and by late 1900, 80% of the coffee crop was owned by the American government. Workers and peasants were being paid 50% lower than they had received under the Spanish regime. Meat and rice became the luxurious commodities under the retail and production of the American business interests.

In 1901 the United States created an educational system where English would become the official language-- so began the eradication of Puerto Rico's culture from the minds of her youth.

In 1916, Jose de Diego, a famous lawyer for the Catholic Church, began to fill a paper of historical and economical facts exposing the criminal exploitation of not only Puerto Rico's resources, but also her people.

In 1917 with the coming of the imperialist war, the United States declared Puerto Rico an official colony; by doing so she was able to send young Puerto Rican men into the war and at the same time deprive the island of a revolutionary force.

In 1920 the young and premature struggle for independence of Puerto Rico found a political arm in the creation of the Nationalist Party. At its early stages it based itself on the criticism of American imperialism and in the sporadic sales of literature. In 1924 a new epoch was born in Puerto Rico and a new page of history was waiting to be filled. Wandering into the Nationalist Party was a young, brown skinned law graduate from Harvard, his name Pedro Albizu Campos, a name that the universal struggles of national liberation will (cont. p. 211)

forever embrace. Pedro Albizu returned to the island in 1924 in the wake of his harassment by the American military because of his color. After his enrollment into the Nationalist Party, Albizu Campos was elected vice-president of the party. In 1926 he was appointed as a representative of the party to travel to various Latin American countries to acquaint himself with the independence and revolutionary movements in those countries. It didn't take long for Pedro Albizu to learn that it was his impregnable will that aroused the millions on the island to the call of liberation; it was his voice which echoed in every village and in every city that shook the fetters of the masses; it was his revolutionary ferocity that turned the whole established social order of the bourgeois-colonialist upside down. This son of a peasant couple in Ponce (a city in Puerto Rico -- Editors' note) was to become the pride and glory of "La Boricua."

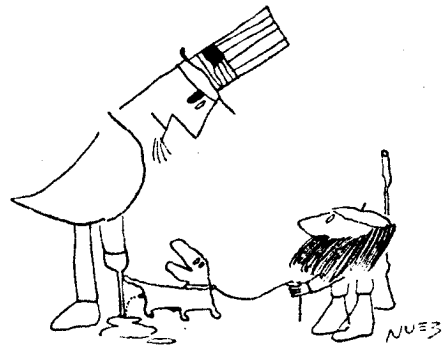
In 1932, under the leadership of Dr. Campos, the Nationalist Party entered the electoral campaigns with Albizu as candidate for Senator at large. Before election night the pro-American newspapers began an anti-nationalist campaign, flooding the island with accusations against Pedro Albizu. Their propaganda wasn't enough, the election was then rigged, and Pedro Albizu lost, yet in his defeat to the candidates of the multi-millionaires he scored 12,000 votes.

On the eve of Pedro's loss, the depression that had started in the mid-twenties (capitalism hinders its foreign possessions before it applies economic misery to its own working class) began to dilute the foundations of the bourgeoisie. Below it the lower classes were already decaying, compelling the peasants to move from the countryside into the city and later to migrate into New York.

In 1933 the social forces of the proletariat began to bellow their dissatisfaction towards the island's ruling class in demonstration after demonstration. One of these

demonstrations was directed by Albizu against the American monopoly, Porto Rico Railway, Light and Power Co., in which the workers' strike had the last word. In 1934 he directed various campaigns against the plantation owners and landlords by leading strikes of sugar cane cutters. Imperialism was beginning to decay in the mist of its own depression. The degeneration and perversion of the masses

by the mechanics of the ruling class produced multiple offsprings of contradiction and brought on revolution as the order of the day. When Colonel Francis J. Riggs, Chief of Police and personal bodyguard of Governor Winship (cont. p. 212



offered Pedro Albizu \$150,000 to withdraw his campaigns, Pedro refused; from then on he became a political danger to the monstrous business interests on the island.

On Oct. 24, 1935, four members of the Nationalist Party were murdered by the police on orders from Col. Riggs. The members were part of a demonstration protesting a bourgeois, pro-imperialist student assembly. In December of 1935, 25,000 members of the Nationalist Party composed a petition demanding the resignation of Col. Riggs and the withdrawal of American business interests and military troops from the island.

On March 4, 1936, in a gun battle with three youth members of the Nationalist Party, Col. Riggs was shot and killed. Later the police arrested Elias Beauchamp, one of the freedom fighters involved in the incident, and his companion Hiram Rosado. Following the arrest Elias and Hiram were both tortured and killed inside the police station.

On March 4, 1936, on the campus of Puerto Rico University, Pedro Albizu was arrested in an attempt to recruit fellow countrymen into the Nationalist Army. A consensus taken by the students preceding his arrest showed that Albizu's followers had gathered more than 250 volunteers in a matter of hours. Following his arrest Dr. Campos was charged with instigating the gun battle in which Riggs was killed. In July of 1936 the American Civil Liberties Union sent a committee to defend Pedro. That same month in the congress of the United States, a representative from New York, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, defended Albizu's rights and the struggle for liberation in Puerto Rico. Countering the defensive pleas was Dr. Ernest Gruening (now the 'liberal' Senator from Alaska) who was the Director of the Reconstruction Project Committee of Puerto Rico and Commissioner of Divisions of Territories and Island Possessions. Gruening denounced the independence movement in Puerto Rico and branded Pedro as a danger to the American Government.

With the pro-imperialist newsmedia on the island condemning Albizu, and with the conviction of guilt supported by the colossus of the American State Department the all-American businessmen jury convicted Pedro. The American judge sentenced him to Atlanta Penitentiary for seven years. Throughout the trial not one Puerto Rican was able to enter the courtroom.

* * *

The independence movement had grown from a premature infant into a revolutionary arm of the masses, a ubiquitous force channeled through the halls of national liberation, shattering the pillars of human exploitation, thundering into the quarters of the bourgeois intuition, uprooting its deteriorating surface. By 1937 the Nationalist Party had already been constructed into a mobilized cadre of (cont. p213)

of thousands. It had not only attracted the unemployed, the workers and the peasants, but students, teachers, and university professors. Realizing the political potentiality of such a dynamic force, Governor Wihship, with the aid of various Puerto Rican bureaucrats, had secretly ordered a massacre in the city of Ponce. In a parade of Nationalist Youth Cadets and Nationalist nurses the Ponce police and American troops under the leadership of Col. Orbetta, brother-in-law of Dioniso Trigo and Franco's fascist representative in Puerto Rico, massacred from fifty to seventy men, women, and children, wounding 150. On an empty street in Ponce, a bleeding revolutionary stumbled to the sidewalk and wrote in his own blood:

"Viva la Republica!

Abajo los Asesinos!"

Of the troops and policemen that had killed Puerto Rican children on that bloody day, not one came to justice. Col. Orbetta who had directed the slaughter continued to be a colonel and Chief of Police. Governor Winship who had ordered the pogrom remained the "great white father" of Puerto Rico.

With the outbreak of World War II the revolution in Puerto Rico came to an interruption, but the infamous day in Ponce was molded in the pages of history, an obstacle of shame on the minds of liberals and a reminder of revenge for the Puerto Rican that lived that day.

The second and concluding part of this article will appear in SOULBOOK 4

"In spite of the loud and pompous declarations about equal rights contained in all the constitutions of the Latin American Republics it is, however, a fact that in the economic, social and political practice of these countries the Negroes do not enjoy these constitutional rights. The Latin American bourgeois ideologists lie when they say that all men are equal; lie when they try to prove that there is no economic and racial discrimination against Negroes in Latin America.

There is hardly any country of Latin America where the Negro toiling population does not consider itself humiliated and insulted on the economic and social practices of the white ruling class."

George Padmore, The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (p.61) London, 1931.

la revolución puertorriqueña

por alfredo peña del Movimiento
Pre-Independencia de Puerto Rico

(traducción española por SOULBOOK)

La Revolución Puertorriqueña comenzó cuando las fuerzas imperialistas norteamericanas desembarcaron sobre nuestras playas en 1898.

Durante los cinco años pasados El Movimiento Pro-Independencia De Puerto Rico ha tratado de despertar la atención de la plebe sobre La Isla y en Nueva York, a fin de unir y organizar el proletariado a la llamada de la liberación nacional.

La revolución puertorriqueña es inminente pero revoluciones faltan sin el sostén de la plebe. Los campesinos, los trabajadores, los desocupados y los estudiantes tienen que reanimarse bajo de la bandera de la independencia a fin de que la lucha puede ascender adentro una fuerza poderosa y dinámica.

El gobierno americano ha sucedido en adoctrinar nuestra gente y hacerla entrar por fuerza histerismo. Aun el murmullo de mudanza o una insinuación de independencia es suprimido por insinuaciones reaccionarias. El systema educadora controlado por los norteamericanos ha extraído la cultura y historia puertorriqueña de sus cursos de estudios. Estudiantes aprenden más sobre Los Estados Unidos que aprenden de su propia isla. Los intereses de comercios y anquis poseen mas tierra, propiedad e industrias que la gente puertorriqueña, por ejemplo las playas en La Isla es poseido por los hoteles lujosos Americanos donde los turistas pueden bañarse por gratis además los puertorriqueños tienen que pagar un precio minimo para entrar a la playa.

Desde 1898 los imperialistas norteamericanos han sacado bill ones de dolares de Puerto Rico en Frutas, Azucar, óleo y mineral; han manipulado a la gente puertorriqueña por un motivo de beneficio. En cuanto, al Gobernador y a la legislatura de Puerto Rico, sirven solamente como instrumentos de "estructura de poder" de Los Estados Unidos, defender las capas superiores de la burguesa puertorriqueña cuando aprovechar de su propia burocracia.

El termino "Commonwealth" que Los Estados Unidos ha aplicado a Puerto Rico es una farsa. Los norteamericanos lo han usado para ilustrar al

mundo que Puerto Rico es un estado soberano.

Porque le faltan a Puerto Rico su propio presidente, gobierno y sistemas economicas, sociales, y politicas es expuesto esta mentira. Aun la definici3n de "Commonwealth" no necesariamente significa una naci3n libre.

Con relaci3n a Puerto Rico el crimen m1s costoso del Gobierno norteamericano es que ha borrado desde la mente del puertorriqueño que 3l es una parte de la herencia latino-americana. Abajo el systema del gobierno Yanqui el puertorriqueño ha descartado las tradiciones y los costumbres de su historia. El ha viajado por un transito al cultivo desde una sociedad a otro. La transici3n es controlado por las maquinas de instruccion del gobierno norteamericano. Tal jornada acanalada ha desleido la moralidad de nuestra gente : 40% de nuestra juventud en Nueva York ha tomada las habitas drogas, y 31% en Puerto Rico; 26% de nuestras mujeres se han convertidos prostitutas en Nueva York, 33% en Puerto Rico. Aun el aire en Puerto Rico ha hecho contaminado. En 1954 Los Estados Unidos commenzaron a construir laboratorios nucleares y han sido adelante experimentar varias armas nucleares cerca de nuestras costas. Experimentos adentro los laboratorios han sido ejecutados sobre presos Nacionalistas puertorriqueños.

Con el fin de la guerra Espaol-Americano en 1898 la personalidad y el car1cter de un Puerto Rico liberado estuvieron cristalizandos. Pero en 25 de Julio la invasi3n de tropas americanas ahogaron todas las esperanzas puertorriqueñas para la independ3ncia y la libertad. Betances, uno de los lideres puertorriqueños revolucionarios fue citado a Francia antes las invasi3n para firmar el tratado de Paz. En la vispera del ataque sobre Puerto Rico un grito de reprisilia desde toco afuera por el mundo: "Nosotros ni queremos ser colonizados por El España ni por Los Estados Unidos. Estoy yo sorprendido que mi gente no ascendido."

Eugeno de Ostos estuvo viajando en Los Estados Unidos cuando las noticias le llegaron que las tropas norteamericanas hubieron aplastado la independ3ncia puertorriqueña con una invasi3n : "Los sacrificios ser1n mucho ... pero La Independencia de Nuestra isla progresar1."

Antes la invasi3n 91% de la tierra perteneci3 a los agricultores puertorriqueños. Tabaco y azucar comprendieron 66% de la produccion, pero en 1900 esta produccion fue puesto y controlado por los capitalistas yanquis. Los norteamericanos posian la otra tierra y controlaban las reformas chicas agricolas. El entre-commercio de La Isla quedaba en la direccion de lo selecto Espaol. La burguesa puertorriqueña que se estableci3 antes la invasi3n yanqui fue secundario en su explotaci3n del proletariado en comparaci3n a los norteamericanos.

Café hubo sobreesado azucar como un origen de ingreso para los capitalistas, y en la última parte de 1900 80% de la cosecha de café fue puesto por el gobierno norteamericano. Trabajadores y campesinos fueron pagados 50% mas bajo que hubieron recibido bajo el regimen Español. La carne y el arroz convinieron comodidades lujosas bajo venta al por menor y la producción de los intereses de los comercios norteamericanos.

En 1901 Los Estados Unidos crearon una systema educadora cual Ingles conveniera el idioma oficial, asi comenzó la eradicación de la cultura de Puerto Rico desde los mentes de su juventud.

En 1916 Jose De Diego un abogado famoso de la Iglesia Católica comenzó a llenar una disertación de hechos historicos y economicas exponer la explotación criminal de no solamente los recursos de Puerto Rico, pero también su gente.

En 1917 con la llegada de la guerra imperialista Los Estados Unidos declararon que Puerto Rico fue una colonia oficial, por hacer eso pudieron a mandar a los jovenes puertorriqueños a la guerra y al mismo tiempo privieron la isla de una fuerza revolucionaria.

En 1920 la lucha para La Independencia de Puerto Rico, todavía joven y prematura, econtró un brazo politico en la creación del Partido Nacionalista. En sus estados tempranos se concentró en la critica del imperialismo yanqui y las ventas esporadicas de literatura. En 1924 una epoca nueva nació en Puerto Rico y una página de la historia estaba esperando ser llenado. Errar entre el Partido Nacionalista fue joven cuando se graduo de leyes desde Harvard, con un cutis moreno, su nombre fue Pedro Albizu Campos, un nombre que las luchas universales de la liberación nacional abrazarán siempre. Pedro volvió a La Isla en 1924 después de su hostigamiento porque de su color por el militar norteamericano. Después su registro entre el Partido Nacionalista, Albizu Campos fue elegido vicepresidente del Partido. En 1926 él fue nombrado como un representante del Partido a viajar a paises latino-americanos varios para que se puso al corriente de La Independencia y movimientos revolucionarios en esos paises. No tuvo mucho tiempo para que el señor Pedro Albizu aprender que fue su fuerza inconquistable que hubo despertado a los millones de La



Isla a la llamada de La Liberación; fue su voz que resonaba en todas las aldeas y en todas las ciudades que hubo sacudido los grillos de las masas; fue su ferocidad revolucionaria que hubo vuelto el todo orden social establecida de las burguesas-colonialistas lo de arriba abajo. El hijo de un matrimonio del campo de Ponce fue a llegar a ser el orgullo y gloria de 'La Boricua'.

Durante 1932, abajo la dirección del Doctor Campos, El Partido Nacionalista entró a las campañas electorales con El Señor Albizu como un candidato para senador a lo largo. Antes la noche de la elección los periodicos pronorteamericanos comenzaron una campaña anti-nacionalista inundar la isla con acusaciones contra Pedro Albizu. Su campaña propaganda no fue bastante, porque manipuló fraudulentamente las elecciones y por eso Pedro Albizu perdió, sin embargo en su derrota al candidatos de los multimillonarios él obtuvo 12,000 votos.

Anoche antes la derrota de Pedro, la depresión que hubo empezado, más o menos en 1925 (Capitalismo impide sus posesiones extranjerías antes de aplica miseria económica a su propia clase trabajadora) empezaba desleir las fundaciones de la burguesa y de bajo de ella las clases más baja ya estaba decayendo, compeler a los campesinos a mover desde el campo a la ciudad, y más tarde a emigrar a Nueva York.

Durante 1933 las fuerzas sociales del proletariado empezaron a gritar sus opresiones a la clase que gobernó la Isla en muchas demostraciones. Una de estas demostraciones fue dirigidos por Albizu contra el monopolio Yanqui, Porto Rico Railway, Light and Power Co. lo que la huelga de los trabajadores se hubo salido con suyas. Durante 1934 él dirigió campaña varias contra los latifundistas y los patrones por conducir huelgas de cortadores de caña de azucar. Imperialismo estaba empezando a decaer dentro de confusión de su propia depresión. La degeneración y la perversión de las masas por los mecanicos de la clase elevada producieron proles multiples de contradicciones y indujeron revolución como el orden del dia. Coronel Francis J. Riggs, Jefe de La Policia y Guardia de corps de Gobernador Winship ofreciera a Albizu Campos que quitiera sus campaña. No consentió Pedro; desde que él convino una peligrosa política a los intereses commercios y monstruosos sobre La Isla.

En 24 de Octubre de 1935 4 miembros del Partido Nacionalista fueron asesinados por las policia sobre ordenes desde Coronel Riggs. Los miembros fueron parte de una demostración a protestar una pro-imperialista burgués asamblea de estudiantes. Durante Diciembre de 1935, 25,000 miembros del Partido Nacionalista compusieron una petición demandar la resignación de Coronel Riggs, la retirada de intereses commercios Yanquis y la retirada de las tropas norteamericanas desde La Isla. En 4 de Marzo de 1936 en una batalla de fusiles con 3 miembros jóvenes (a página 218)

del Partido Nacionalista Coronel Riggs fue tirado y matado. Más tarde la policía arrestó a Elias Beauchamp uno de los guerreros de la libertad que envolvió en el incidente y su amigo Hiram Rosado. Después de la detención Elias y Hiram fueron torturados y matados adentro la estación de la policía. En 4 de Marzo de 1936 en La Universidad de Puerto Rico Pedro Albizu, durante una tentativa a reclutar a paisanos en el ejército Nacionalista, fue arrestado. Un comenso que fué tomado por los estudiantes antes su detención demostró que los seguidores de Don Pedro hubieron recogido a más de 250 voluntarios durante unos cuantos horas. Anteceder su detención el Doctor Campos fue acusado con instigar la batalla de fusiles lo que fue matado el Coronel Riggs. En Julio de 1936 La Unión de Las Libertades Civiles norteamericanas mandó una comité a defender al Señor Campos. En el mismo mes en el Congreso de Los Estados Unidos, un representante de Nueva York, El Señor Vito Marcantonio, defendió los derechos de Albizu y la lucha de la liberación en Puerto Rico. Contra el alegato del defensa fue el Doctor Ernest Gruening (el senador 'liberal' desde Alaska) quien fue El Director Del Comité Del Proyecto Reedificación de Puerto Rico y comisionado de Divisiones de Territorios y posesiones de Islas. El señor Gruening denunció el movimiento de la independencia en Puerto Rico e infamó Pedro como un peligro al Gobierno norteamericano. Con los noticieros proimperialistas sobre La Isla condenar a Albizu, y la convicción de culpa sostenido por el coloso de Departamento del Estado Yanqui, el jurado que comprendió por completo de hombres Yanquis de negocios convenió a Don Pedro.

El juez Norteamericano lo (Albizu) sentenció al penitenciario de Atlanta por siete años. Durante todo el ensayo ningún puertorriqueño pudo entrar al cuarto de corte.

El movimiento de la independencia se hubo puesto mejor desde un infante prematuro en un brazo revolucionario de las masas, una fuerza ubicua acanalada por los pasos de la liberación nacional destrozar los pilares de explotación humana, tronar en las partes de la intuición burguesa, desarraigar su superficie que estuvo tuvo deteriorando. Para 1937 El Partido Nacionalista

ya fue construido en un núcleo movilizadado de miles de personas. El Partido no había atraído solamente a los disocupados, los trabajadores y los campesinos, pero también los estudiantes, y maestros y los profesores en Las Universidades. Realizar la potencial política de tan fuerza dinámica, El Gobernador Winship con el auxilio de burocratas varios puertorriqueños en secreto hubo ordenado una matanza en la ciudad (a página 219)



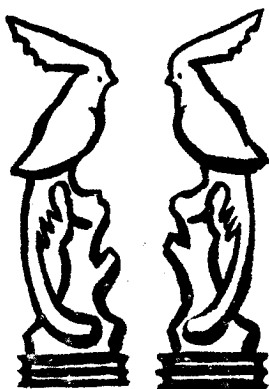
de Ponce. Durante una parada de cadetes jóvenes nacionalistas y enfermeras nacionalistas. La policía de Ponce, y las tropas Yanquis abajo la dirección de coronel Orgetta cuñado de Dioniso Trigo, el representante fascista de Franco en Puerto Rico, mataron atrocemente a 50 a 70 hombres, mujeres y niños, y herieron a 150. En una calle vacía en Ponce, un revolucionario que estuvo sangrando tropezó a la acera y escribió con su propia sangre:

¡ Viva la Republica !
¡ Abajo los Asesinos !

De las tropas y de la policía que mataron a niños puertorriqueños en ese día sangriento no vino una a justicia. Coronel Orgetta quien hubo dirigido la motan-
dad de gente continuó ser un coronel y el Jefe de La Policía. El Gobernador Winship quien hubo ordenado la matanza quedaba "Al Gran Padre Blanco" de Puerto Rico.

Con la erupción de la segunda guerra mundial La Revolución en Puerto Rico vino a una interrupción pero el día infame en Ponce fue moldeado en las páginas de historia verdadera, un obstáculo de la verquenza en los mentes de liberales y un recordario de la venganza al puertorriqueño que vivió ese día.

La última parte de este artículo está en SOULBOOK 4



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notes on james boggs' american revolution

by ernie allen & kenn m. freeman

The following article is a review essay of the book, American Revolution, Notes From a Negro Worker's Notebook, which was written by Brother James Boggs (Monthly Review Press, 1961)

(This is part one, part two will appear
in SOULBOOK 4)



THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Boggs begins by noting the change which has occurred in the character of the American working class, beginning with the period of the 1930's up to the present; whereas many workers during the 30's were illiterate, their children are the engineers and scientists of today. Thus we are left with the situation of the working class being, Boggs states, "so dispersed and transformed by the very nature of the changes in production that it is almost impossible to select out any single bloc of workers as working class in the old sense....."

this working class is growing, as Marx predicted, but it is not the old working class which the radicals persist in believing will create the revolution and establish control over production. There are only 12 million of these production workers left in American industry, out of a total work force of 68 million." (pp. 15-16)

So Boggs says that these changes in production have influenced the character of the working class in three primary ways; these factors have in turn brought their influence to bear upon the very nature of production, as well as influencing and interacting between one another. Boggs views these resulting changes as the following:

- (i) the working class has grown
- (ii) work has become diversified
- (iii) labor leadership has become bourgeois

Thus, The American Revolution lays waste to a basic premise of many, contemporary so-called Marxists in the U. S. who would depend (at least in a theoretical sense) upon the existing working class to be instrumental in establishing a "workers state" in place of the present capitalist (ie racist) system. Not only are old myths destroyed, but an analysis is given by Boggs which we feel will greatly aid Black Americans in their task of providing a viable program for total Black Liberation on a worldwide scale.

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF PRODUCTION & THE SUBSEQUENT SELLOUT OF THE WORKERS
BY THE UNION LEADERS

In developing organizations to fulfill this task of liberation it is important that Afroamericans learn both from the past failures and accomplishments, strong points and weaknesses, of organizations -- particularly those which have based themselves upon the strength of the masses. Boggs' position is that "By examining the industrial revolution, and unemployment, we can get some idea of the revolutionary changes that have so rapidly developed in America, directly leading to changes in the nature of work, the social composition of various strata of the population." (p. 16) Taking the United Auto Workers as the model for the CIO, Boggs runs down the history of the labor movement and points out the fact that there were more workers who were organized into the union than were those who organized the union, and furthermore, that all workers did not participate in strikes.

Now, what did the union do in order to improve working conditions and to procure extra benefits for the workers in the shop? In short, what were its accomplishments? Before World War II the workers, acting through the union, "...had the power to intimidate management, from the foreman up to the top (cont. p. 222)

echelons, forcing them to yield to workers' demands whenever production standards were in dispute. "(p. 18) In other words, the union gave the workers control over production At the same time, "... it must be clearly understood that the workers in taking hold in the plants did not take power." (emphasis added by ea & kmf) They only took hold of the plants. They did not take over the state government, or the national government, or the city police, or the National Guard nor the army " The union was instrumental in forcing management to hire workers who ordinarily would never have obtained jobs, but we do not wish to infer that the union was a panacea to the problems of labor. For as Boggs points out, "Even in their best days, it should be remembered, the CIO and AFL were not able to do much about unemployment. In 1939, when the Second World War began, there were still more than 9 million unemployed, well over twice today's official figure." (p. 53)

During World War II, labor acquired "respectability." Where before its representatives were workers in the shop, during the war labor leaders were conferring in Washington with heads of government. At this stage the "labor leadership" was no longer the leadership of labor, and, in effect, joined with the power structure in the suppression of labor. But in spite of the fact that the union held continual negotiations with the government and made agreements not to strike during the second world war, Boggs points out that there were 8, 708 strikes involving four million workers in 1943 and 1944 alone. These "wildcat" strikes by labor, during WWII, involving basic human rights within the shop, circumvented the "authority" of the union and was the first indication that labor and "labor leadership" were struggling towards entirely different goals: labor for control of production and procurement of human rights within the shop, "leadership" for control of the workers.

As the gulf between labor and leadership was widening, and because of the fact that during the war the WLB was settling the matter of wages, the union, in an effort to demonstrate its "necessity" to the workers, began trying to change job classifications so that workers could obtain a few cents more an hour ..

However, the era of progressive reform inside the union movement really ended on V-J day, for the control of production and human relations which workers had achieved were now completely shunted aside by the union; the emphasis was now placed upon economic rather than human relations. In the General Motors strike of 1945-46 the wage increases and fringe benefits won by the union were hailed as "great social progress." In 1948, under the "Security Clause," the union returned to management the right to run production as it saw fit. And when automation came upon the scene in 1955, the union began (cont.p. 223)

attempts to ease out the workers through the use of pensions, severance pay, and a "profit-sharing" plan designed to incorporate the remaining workers into management. Boggs concludes that :

Thus, after 25 years, the UAW has given back to management every right over production won in the movement of the 1930's and the war years. Today the workers are doing in eight hours the actual physical work they used to do in twelve. (p.26-7)

What lessons can Black Americans then learn from the experience which our brother, James Boggs has obtained from the union movement? Boggs explains the failure of the union by stating that "...all organizations that spring up in a capitalist society and do not take absolute power, but rather fight only on one tangential or essential aspect of that society are eventually incorporated into capitalist society." (p.28)

This statement is good as far as it goes, but we feel the need to point out that these organizations of which Boggs is speaking will (unless they take absolute power) either be incorporated into the society, infiltrated and/or obliterated by the state "gendarmes" (i.e. FBI, CIA, etc.), or will become virtually sterile and lose effectiveness through a continual revision and "watering down" of their once-militant programs. These are significant factors to consider when analyzing the present state of labor organizations run by the white ruling class, the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People, and certain bourgeois, pseudo-Black Nationalist organizations which are carrying the FBI's stamp of "approval"; once an organization becomes "respectable" in the eyes of the power structure, one can well be assured that it poses no threat to the existing socio-economic and political structure, and that its aims are corrupted by the said apparatus.

AUTOMATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY

The contradictions which presently exist between Black and White America, as well as those internal to each of these two nations, will become deeply intensified as automation thunders ahead; also, new contradictions will continue to rise during its process of development. Boggs views these intensified (antagonistic) contradictions as being grouped primarily about the following three areas :



- (i) the permanently-unemployed and the employed
- (ii) the "young" workers and "old" workers within the plant
- (iii) the union and the workers

Boggs places quite a bit of importance upon the first contradiction because it is a problem which encompasses the entire socio-economic structure: "This antagonism in the population between those who have to be supported and those who have to support them is one of the inevitable antagonisms of capitalism." (p. 37) Thus the contradiction between the unemployed and the employed is viewed correctly by Boggs as a factor which is inherent to the nature of capitalism; he notes, however, that automation introduces a new factor: the problem of the permanently-unemployed man. As Boggs states, "what is new is that now, unlike most earlier periods, the displaced men have nowhere to go." (emphasis added by kmf & ea; p. 36). His analysis continues; not only will the unemployed be pitted against the employed, but in consideration of the overall society Boggs states that: "those who propose that the unemployed be allowed to starve to death rather than continue as a drain on the public. . ." (p. 37) will stand in direct opposition to "those who cannot stand by and see society degenerate into such barbarism." (p. 37) Later we will return to this point and examine its relevance to the problems of Black America; presently we will concern ourselves with Boggs' approach to the solution of problems incurred through automation.

"The dilemma before the workers and the American people is: How can we have automation and still earn our livings?" (.35)

In examining different chapters in The American Revolution one sees that Boggs' solution to this problem of automation vs. income is tinged with ambivalence on one hand he speaks of a social revolution in the U.S. which will uproot "whitey's" system of degenerate capitalism and in its place implant the roots of a socialist society where exploitation of man by man will be eliminated. On the other hand Boggs apparently is looking for a patchwork formula within capitalism (i.e. reformism) which will help the workers to survive and to maintain for themselves an adequate standard of living, for he seems to suggest that the root cause of the problems of income distribution and maintenance of consumption is to be found within the income-through-jobs link. This suspicion of ours becomes real when we discover that Boggs signed the now-famous document known as The Triple Revolution (which stated in so many words that the most important reform needed in the U.S. today was the abolishment of the income-thru-jobs link). Also, in his The Rights of Man in an Age of Abundance Boggs states that "...a man's (cont.)

right to a living should no longer be tied to his work. . "2.

This same theme pops up again in his fourth chapter:

"This nation cannot long endure short on rights and long on goods. We must accept the plain fact that we are moving towards an automated society and act on the basis of this fact.

The first principle that has to be established is that everyone has a right to full life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, whether he is working or not.
(emphasis added by kmf8ea)

Now, how does Boggs form the bridge between his advocating the destruction of the income-through-jobs link, which is, in the context of a capitalist society, essentially reformism, and revolution, the complete uprooting of this society? First of all he feels that in a capitalist society the vast majority of workers will lose their jobs because the furthering of automation and cybernation will eliminate these jobs and will not create a sufficient number of others. Thus, for these people (and particularly Black people) to survive in this society it will be necessary to abolish the income-thru-jobs link. He then goes on to say that this will force the capitalists to feed a vast army of the permanently-unemployed, thus causing an unbearable strain on those who have jobs and pay taxes, and those who do not have jobs and do not pay taxes. Finally, he suggests that this new contradiction will eventually produce the ultimate crisis of capitalism, as opposed to the orthodox-Marxian prediction that the antagonism between the worker and capitalist is the decisive contradiction which will cause the fall of capitalism and provide the motive force for a new social order.

Now, we disagree with Boggs on at least one important point: his implication that work is somehow not a necessity for mankind, in general, to live.

We agree that if a man cannot work then he should be given means in order to live adequately. In spite of this fact we still feel that work is still a necessary part of man's life; there is an abundance of evidence to show that man developed from a lower to a higher being by working (with both his head and his hands), and we believe that man will continue to master nature and to solve his problems by working. Therefore we feel that work should not be deemphasized, even though it may not be necessary in the productive process, because of its essentiality to the further development of man. We must keep in mind also that the definition of productive work is certainly capable of being broadened, so that under this new definition, for example, research, the arts and other creative ventures could conceivably be included.

Boggs points out that most people (and this includes many Marxists) " have not been able to face the fact that even if the workers took over the plants

they would also be faced with the problem of what to do with themselves now that work is become socially unnecessary. They have not been able to face this fact because they have no clear idea of what people would do with themselves, what would be their human role, or how society would be organized when work is no longer at the heart of society." (p. 41)

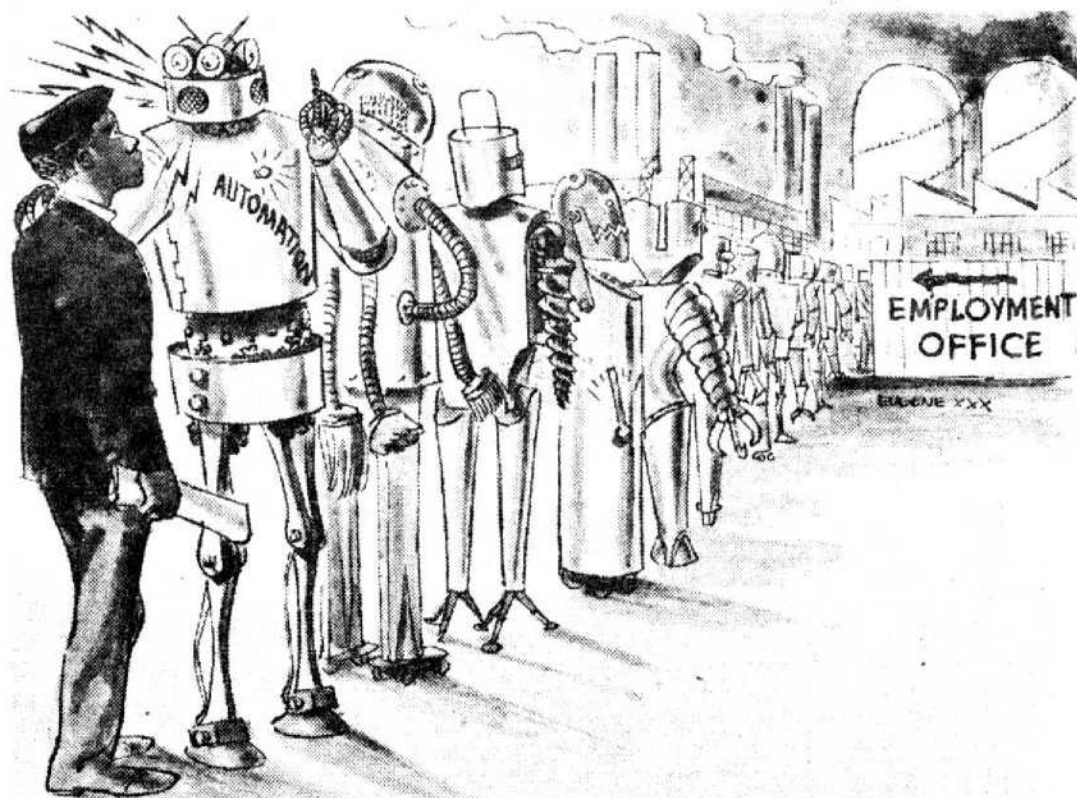
So Boggs hits the nail upside the head; since the U.S. is presently the most technologically advanced country in the world, today's problems of production relations in this highly-technical capitalist society will be tomorrow's problems in socialist societies as the instruments of production in these societies reach a level of sophistication. But keep in mind that it is only within a capitalist society where lack of work, and hence, lack of income seem to always reach crisis proportions (i. e. result in contradictions of an antagonistic sort), whereas in a socialist society, time not used in production work can be channeled (at least to the extent that it is a planned economy) into healthy areas such as the arts and other creative, peaceful ventures. However, in a "workers' state" the solution to the challenge of automation tends toward the removal of one of the cornerstones of Marxism-Leninism, since Lenin's statement that "he who does not work shall not eat" becomes an anacronism when work is no longer economically necessary

Boggs shows that the retraining of displaced workers for new jobs requiring greater skills is of dubious value because automation also eliminates these skilled jobs without creating more or even the same number (although there is not enough evidence to substantiate this claim at the present time, or, probably more correctly, the evidence is being hidden from the public, we feel that when automation is in full swing this claim will prove to be true). But there is an additional factor which makes retraining even more of a farce for Afroamerica, for, in the nationwide programs for job retraining, the fact that employment agencies discriminate against Black workers in favor of white workers for entrance into these programs has been exposed. 3.

Thus, Black Americans, who are already the most socio-economically oppressed group in the U.S. (as well as those Indians who have survived the merciless slaughter of the white oppressor), are suffering most from just the initial phase of automation, and will most certainly be the group which will suffer most when automation is in full swing. And as the pro-business Research Institute of America said: "The moment of truth on Automation is coming -- a lot sooner than most people realize." 4.

footnotes

1. James Boggs. "The Rights of Man in an Age of Abundance," p. 93, REVOLUTION, Vol. I, No.8
2. C. E. Wilson. "Automation and the Negro: Will We Survive?", p.10 Liberator, Vol. V, No. 7, (July, 1965).
3. J. Smith. "Cybernation: The Potential Problems of a 'Workless Society' ", p.6, National Guardian, (Nov. 21, 1964)



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ERRATA

1. Page 151 second line should read "castrati of..."
2. Page 156 line 14 should read "The presence of..."
3. Page 179: line 5 "slipping" should be slopping. line 22 should be "dawn lawd"
4. Page 226 line 10 reads "level"; should read "higher level".
5. Page 192 line 17 "...awaited beneficent lord saw sheets
white mist while..."
6. Page 158 Cartoon reprinted from Bohemia. 7. Page 155 photo reproduced from
Peking Review 8. Page 198 Cartoon reprinted from Bohemia
9. Page 219 Figure reprinted from Peking Review . 10. Page 223 Cartoon reprinted
Peking Review 11. Page 227 cartoon reprinted from Muhammed Speaks
12. Page 203 line 15 "imperialis" should be imperialism.
13. Page 181 line 13 "democrat" should be democrats. 14. Page 171 line 4 omit
"to an important degree....."
14. The smudge-mark on the cover photo was the fault of the printer; it was
not the fault of the photographer.

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